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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

Discoveries and Travels

IN

ASIA,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

By HUGH MURRAY, F. R. S. E.

AUTHOR OF "HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA."

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CHAPTER I.

VOYAGES TO INDOSTAN, PRIOR TO THE PASSAGE OF THE CAPE.

Cosmas Indicopleustes.—Conti.—Sto. Stefano.—Abdoulrizack.—Barthema.

WE have already seen, that India, from the earliest ages, was viewed as a splendid and wonderful region, and as the source of the richest commodities produced in any part of the world. The moderns, therefore, even prior to the discovery of the passage by the Cape, made repeated attempts to penetrate thither, and to establish a commercial intercourse.

The first navigator whose work we shall here notice, is one that can scarcely be considered as modern. The "Indian Topography" of COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, is shewn by Montfaucon to have

been written between 535 and 547. This work, however, was composed with a much higher aim than to record the mere local observations of its author. It professes to exhibit a full and general view of the structure of the world, and the system of nature. His conclusions rest, not upon the fallacious deductions of science, but upon holy writ, which was destined, as he imagines, to guide man as much to natural as to spiritual knowledge. On this principle he pronounces a dire anathema against all who shall presume to question any part of a system resting upon this basis. He begins with a deep invective against the impiety and folly of those who asserted the globular form of the earth. He challenges them to produce a single passage in Moses, the Prophets, or the Gospels, which could give the slightest countenance to such an idea. On the contrary, their firm and invariable doctrine was, that the earth was a plain surface. Yet a number of philosophers, with a wise and pompous look, alleging some fanciful observations on the phenomena of eclipses, presumed to hold a doctrine which made the authors of all these sacred books "mere babblers and authors of lies, and scripture a mass of fables." Dread, however, as their impiety was, their folly was if possible still more glaring. How could any one imagine, that men could live *below* the earth; or what sort of life would be led

by these antipodes? How could rain ascend instead of descending; or how could two men have the soles of their feet opposite to each other, and yet both stand upright? Supposing that men should fasten themselves by any process, how could the seas and rivers be prevented from falling away into empty space? How, in short, could the immense weight of the earth rest upon nothing, and not sink? "Cease then your trifling," says he, "ye wise men, and be not so infatuated "as to turn the very earth upside down, rather "than listen to the plainest dictates of truth."

Without entering farther into those deep speculations, we shall proceed to the geographical part of this elaborate work, which held probably a very inferior place in the estimation of its author, though it is the only portion to which any reverence has been shewn by posterity. His details exhibit an extension of Greek navigation beyond Malabar. Ceylon appears now to have become its great emporium; and to it, under the name of Taprobane, the description of Cosmas is chiefly applied. Dr Vincent understands him to admit that he himself never visited that island. Yet the appellation Indicopleustes implies a voyage to India; and to suppose that he went thither without proceeding to Ceylon, would oblige us to believe that he described much more fully the place which he did not visit than the place which

he did. Taprobane, he says, is called by the Indians Sielediva, and lies beyond the region of pepper. It is frequented by many ships from India, Persia, and Ethiopia. It was governed by two kings; one called the King of the Hyacinth, who appears to have ruled over the centre of the island, where, in fact, are produced the precious stones for which it is celebrated; the other held the sea coast and the places of trade. The dominion of these two regions has, in fact, been usually separated. Here Cosmas amuses his readers with the above noticed anecdote of Sopater, who was introduced to the king at the same time with a Persian, who boasted extravagantly of the power and splendour of his sovereign, representing them to surpass, beyond all comparison, that of the Constantinopolitan monarch. The king then turning to Sopater, asked, "Roomi, "what say you to this?" Sopater, instead of replying, merely drew out the coin of his empire, which was of gold, rich and finely carved, and proposed to abide the issue of a comparison with the most valuable produce of the Persian mint. He knew that his adversary could produce nothing but a very ordinary silver coin, which happened to be the best that was current in that empire. This test, though in itself not quite infallible, suited exactly the taste of an oriental judge. The Persian was treated as a

mean impostor, while Sopater was mounted on an elephant, and led in triumph through the city.

Although the chief notice of Cosmas is bestowed on Ceylon, he gives a short description of the coast of Malabar. The river Indus or Phison separates Persia from India, of which last Sindus is the first division. He enumerates as leading parts, Sindus, Orrotha, Calliana, and Sibur, which Dr Vincent conjecturally places at Scindi, Surat, Bombay, and Canara. Then follows the coast of Male (Malabar), in which the principal ports are Parti, Mangarooth, Salopatan, Nalopatan, and Poodapatan. Mangarooth appears to be Mangalore; but the other three ports cannot be recognized, though their sound is sufficient to mark them as Indian. The produce of Kalliana is said to be brass, sesamum wood, and cottons; that of Sindus castor, musk, and spikenard; that of Male, pepper. From Ceylon to the country of the Tsinitzæ, placed at the farthest extremity of Asia, is a voyage of nearly the same length as from Egypt to Ceylon. From this, and other countries to the east, were imported into Ceylon silk, aloes, cloves, nutmegs, and sandal wood. The northern parts of India are represented by Cosmas as inhabited by a nation whiter than the rest, called the Hunni, whose name cannot be recognized, but is probably applied to the inhabitants of Bengal, and the other countries on the

Ganges. Their king, Gollas, held high sway over India, and exacted large tributes from the surrounding states. He supported 2000 elephants, and a numerous cavalry. It is asserted, that when he was once besieging a fortress defended by a river, he took it by causing his elephants to drink up its waters.

THE Venetians, the most active commercial people of Europe during the middle ages, directed their first attempts at mercantile discovery to the great land route reaching through the heart of Asia into Cathay. The wealth and surpassing splendour of that vast empire, and even the long and adventurous journey by which it was reached, gave it in their eyes an adventitious attraction. They soon became sensible, however, that besides the hazards of the journey, the land carriage was of too great length to allow the commodities of that country to be imported with any adequate profit. India was found to be still the region to which, in this view, they had mainly to look; and to it they now turned their curiosity, little suspecting, perhaps, that its full discovery would involve the entire downfal of their commercial greatness.

The earliest of those voyages on record is that of NICOLO CONTI, a noble Venetian, who performed it about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In 1449 he applied to Pope Eugene IV. for absolution from the sin of having denied the Christian religion, in order to secure his personal safety. The Pope, after granting his request, imposed as a work of penance, that he should give a faithful narrative of his whole peregrination to his own secretary Poggio, by whom it was carefully written out in Latin. This narrative does not seem to have been very carefully preserved or studied in his native country, since Ramusio, after long search, could find nothing but a Portuguese translation, which had been made at Lisbon by order of King Emanuel. This, though considerably mutilated, he thought worthy to be retranslated into Italian for the benefit of his readers.

Nicolo happening to be at Damascus, formed there the design of proceeding to India, and joined a caravan which was going to Bagdad. He gives few particulars of his journey across the desert, but only mentions, that once at midnight a dreadful noise and outcry was heard, when they started up, thinking it made by a body of Arab robbers. They merely saw, however, a great number of persons passing silently along, without giving them the slightest molestation. Nicolo was then told, and seems to have believed, that these were demons, who were accustomed to traverse in this manner these solitary regions. On his arrival at

Bagdad he sailed down the Euphrates, and thence from Ormus to Cambaia, which he calls a very noble city, but mentions no details, except the custom of widows burning themselves on the dead body of their husbands. He is more diffuse upon Bisnagar, which he reached by travelling three hundred miles inland. He describes it as an immense city, situated in a valley at the foot of lofty mountains, sixty miles in circuit, and containing a hundred thousand men able to bear arms. The king was the most powerful in India, and maintained twelve thousand wives, four thousand of whom followed him constantly on foot, while two thousand of his peculiar favourites were entitled to the honour of burning themselves on his funeral pile. This city was the capital of Narsinga, then a great kingdom, occupying the whole breadth of the peninsula southward as far as Mysore; but now obliterated from the map of India, and its capital in ruins. He then came to the coast of Coromandel, and visited the cities of Pelagonga, Pudifetania, and Cenderghisia; names which, I confess, puzzle me as much as they did Ramusio.* This route, however, appears to have led him to the coast of Malabar, whence he sailed round the southern extremity of India to Ceylon.

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* Pudifetania, however, seems the Poodapatan of Cosmas.

He briefly notices its pearls and cinnamon, and proceeded to Sumatra, passing along the great island of Andramaria (the Andamans). Here no one touches, unless driven by his evil fortune, since the cruel natives, on getting hold of any one, instantly cut him into slices and eat him. He makes it eight hundred miles long, a dimension which could only be approached by supposing the two groups of the Andamans and Nicobars to be all viewed as one island. He mentions the fertility of Sumatra and its abundant produce of pepper and camphor. He was particularly struck by the report of a nation of cannibals inhabiting the district called Batech, evidently the country of the Battas, who, as we are assured by Mr Marsden, still labour under this imputation. He adds, that when they have cut off the head, and eaten the flesh, the skull passes for money, so that those who have devoured a number of enemies become men of consirable property.

From Sumatra, Conti proceeded to Ternassari (Tenasserim), in regard to which he mentions only the plenty of elephants and of wood. His voyage then led him to a city which he calls Cernovem, at the mouth of the Ganges, where the river was said to be thirteen miles broad, and he was unable to see across. The banks were covered with cities and beautiful gar-

dens. They produced canes of a magnitude so enormous, that the space from one knot to the other was the length of a man, and was also of breadth sufficient to make a little fishing boat. He ascended the Ganges till he came to a most famous and powerful city, called Maurazia, abounding in gold, silver, and pearls. Then, after vtsiting some mountains to the east, he returned to Cernovem. His course led now to the river Racha (Arracan), on which was a great city of the same name. Thence crossing extensive mountains and deserts, he came to the river Ava, which appeared to him larger than the Ganges, with a capital also called Ava, "more noble and rich "than all the others." The inhabitants are described as good-humoured and extremely gay, or rather dissipated, spending much of their time in taverns, where they enjoy the company of fair ladies, whose conduct could not of course be distinguished by the most rigid propriety. Here a gap occurs in the manuscript, and on the thread being resumed, we find ourselves in the province of Mangi, which may be recollected as the name given by early Europeans to southern China. He proceeds to describe Cathay, Cambalu, and Quinsai; but it appears to me evident, and indeed admitted, that he never went beyond Ava, and completed his account of these ulterior regions from materials there collected, or rather

from the narrative of Marco Polo. After another gap, we find him at Java, whence he returned to Malabar, and set sail at Cambaia for Aden.

At the close of his journal, this traveller adds some general observations on India. That country, he says, surpasses all others in the magnificence, ceremonies, and pomp of burial. The Indians place the body of the deceased on cloth of gold, and cover it with rich garments, placing on the fingers the rings which the deceased wore during life. The place of sepulture is walled and roofed in, and the outside covered with various ornaments. The greatest honour, however, rendered to the manes of a Hindoo, is when his wife places herself on the same pile, a ceremony of which Conti gives a description corresponding almost exactly with that of modern travellers. He says: "They place the man on his own bed, richly adorned, and drest in his best clothes, and around and above him they place odoriferous woods, and kindle the fire; then comes the wife, well adorned and drest in the finest clothes, in the midst of flutes, timbrels, and other musical instruments, with a great company; she, too, singing with a gay aspect, walks around the fire, where stands one of those priests called Banian, on a chair, who comforts her with good words, persuading her that she should despise the present life, which is short and vain, and promises, that in the other

life she shall acquire with her husband many pleasures, infinite riches, with precious garments, and innumerable other things. When she has gone many times round the fire, she washes her body, according to their custom, covers herself with a very thin and white cloth, and throws herself into the fire:" He adds, that if their courage fails, as sometimes happens, they are assisted, or even pushed in by the bystanders. He notices also the great cost and splendour of their marriages, which are prolonged for several days with songs, feasts, balls, trumpets, and musical instruments. He observed also the profound respect paid to the Bramins, the numerous temples erected to idols, and the different forms of religious suicide. In Cambaia, he says, the priests make long harangues to the people, persuading them, that the most acceptable service they can render to the gods, is to kill themselves for their sake. Thus impelled, they have invented an instrument which at one blow severs the head from the body. At Bisnagar he saw the idol cars driven through the streets, and the infatuated devotees throwing themselves down, and crushed beneath the wheels; while others fastened themselves to the car with ropes, and being dragged along by it, were torn to pieces. He was struck also by the ordeals used in the courts of justice. When it is determined to put a man upon his oath, he is con-

ducted before the idol, where a red hot bar of iron is prepared. After the oath, he either licks the iron with his tongue, or carries it in his hand. Others are made to dip their fingers in boiling butter. If the accused sustains these tests without receiving any injury from the fire, then, and then only, he is pronounced innocent.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Jeronimo de Santo Stefano, a Genoese merchant, undertook a commercial speculation to India. He sits down, he says, for the satisfaction of others, to narrate this unfortunate voyage, though it causes a constant renewal of his own grief. He proceeded first to Cairo, and thence up the Nile to Cane (Kenne); from which place he went through deserts, which he supposes, not very accurately, to be those traversed by Moses and the Israelites. He reached Cosseir, and then sailed down the Red Sea, touching at Massuah, "the "port of the country of Prester John," and at length arrived at Aden. The ruler of this place, he says, is so just and good, that he knows of no infidel lord that can be compared to him. After a stay of four months, he sailed directly across the Indian Sea, passing many small islands, and arrived at Calicut. He notices here the ample growth of pepper and ginger; the former of which, he says, exactly resembles the ivy. Both

king and people are idolaters, adoring either the sun or the ox. Every lady takes seven or eight husbands. From Calicut he sailed to Ceylon and Coromandel; but making nothing more than the common observations in either. From Coromandel he came to Pegu, the sovereign of which is described as a great lord, maintaining ten thousand elephants; but from his being at war with the king of Ava, they could not reach that city, which was described to him as particularly rich and splendid. He was obliged, therefore, to dispose of his merchandise at Pegu, and by the regulations of the place, could do so only to the king, who engaged, indeed, to give him two thousand ducats, but was exceedingly slack in fulfilling his contract. It became necessary to carry on a daily solicitation during a whole year, amid cold, heat, and fatigue, which acted so powerfully on the constitution of Adorno, his companion, that it became necessary "to render up his spirit." Our author represents himself as almost quite inconsolable upon this occasion, and as unable to think of any thing else for four months. At the close of that period he began to reflect, that no lamentation could remedy the evil, and applied himself diligently to the recovery of his property, which, after much labour and expense, he at length effected. He then sailed to Sumatra, but had scarcely landed his

goods, when an order arrived from the king to seize the whole for his own behoof. That prince having heard of the death of his companion, stated it as the invariable rule in all Mahometan countries, that the property of those who died without children should go to the king. As it was known, therefore, that part of the goods were the property of Adorno, it obviously suited his majesty's views to consider the whole as in that condition. Luckily our merchant had provided himself at Cairo with an invoice, in which all the articles belonging to him were fully enumerated, by aid of which document, and by favour of the Cadi, who had some knowledge of Italy, he at length obtained restitution, though there were a number of rubies, and other pretty little articles, which having been diverted to the embellishment of his majesty's person, could not now fulfil any other destination. Stefano, however, having so far succeeded, judged this a place which it was high time for him to leave. He set sail for Cambaia, hoping to find there a better market. Now, however, came the sad catastrophe. After sailing twenty-five days, he came to certain little and low islands, called the Maldives, where the extremely unfavourable weather obliged him to remain for no less than six months. The people, however, though black, naked, and Mahometans, were found to be civil and well dis-

posed. At length he set sail; but eight days after there came on such "fortune of sea and rain," that the ship was quickly deluged, all the goods destroyed, and finally, itself went to the bottom. All who could not swim were drowned, but Stefano, by clinging to a plank, was able to keep himself afloat from morning till evening, when he was taken up by a vessel bound also for Cambaia. He arrived there in a state of perfect destitution, to which, he says, for his sins, this journey reduced him, from a state of tolerable comfort at home. He could scarcely have returned to Europe, had not a merchant of Damascus, who happened to be there, taken him into his service, and sent him as a supercargo to Ormus, whence passing through Persia, he reached Tripoli in Syria, from which his narrative is dated.

At a period not long subsequent to the voyage of Conti, India was visited by a Mahometan traveller, whose narrative is by no means devoid of interest. Schah Rokh, the successor of Timur on the throne of Persia, has already come under our notice, as the author of an exploratory mission to the extremity of Asia. He determined to send another with the same view, to bring a report of the coasts and country of India. For this purpose he employed a very accomplished person, Abdoulrizack, who filled the post of Imam (simi-

lar to that of almoner) to the royal person, and was employed in frequent and important embassies. He afterwards wrote a history of Timur and his posterity, which is considered as one of the most valuable productions in Persian literature, and in which he has inserted the narrative of his own voyage; for a translation of which Europe is indebted to the learned pen of M. Langles.

The ambassador set out from Schah Rokh's capital of Herat, in January 1442, and went by way of Kohistan and Kerman to Ormus. There is not, he says, another such city on the face of the earth. Merchants come thither from all the seven climates; caravans from all the interior of Asia, including Tartary and Cathay; and ships from the most distant shores of India, Arabia, and Africa. From Ormus he sailed for India, but was so long detained in the Gulf by contrary winds, as to be too late for the monsoon, and was obliged to spend several months at and near Mascat. Here, he says, the heat was so intense, that the marrow boiled in the bones, and the metal of their swords melted like wax. This temperature threw our ambassador into a violent fever, of which he never felt any remission until he was carried on board the vessel, and in the course of a prosperous voyage entirely regained his health.

Calicut was found by Abdoulrizack to be a great city, with a port equally frequented as that of Ormus. The people are infidels; consequently he considered himself in an enemy's country, as the Mahometans consider every one which has not received the Koran. Yet he admits that they meet with perfect toleration, and even favour, have two mosques, and are allowed to pray in public. Goods may be landed and may remain exposed in the markets, without the least danger, and on being sold, pay only a fortieth of the value. The people appeared to him such as the most fantastic imagination could never have conceived. He never thought to have seen in the world persons who resembled devils rather than men. They were all black and naked, having only a piece of cloth tied round the middle, which scarcely reached to the knee, holding in one hand a shining javelin, and in the other a buckler of bullock's hide. The whole nation, from the king to the lowest subject, wears the same dress.

On Abdoulrizack's arrival, he was received and conducted to a lodging which had been destined for him; and in three days he was introduced to the Samori or king. He found that prince in the usual Indian state of nudity, in a hall adorned with paintings, and surrounded with two or three thousand attendants. The ambassador then delivered his presents, which consisted of a horse

richly harnessed, an embroidered pelisse, and a cap of ceremony. All he says of the interview is, that the prince did not receive these presents with suitable regard. Such extreme conciseness renders it difficult to conjecture the cause of this discourtesy; and we may only suspect, from observing the horror and hostility with which, amid all his praises of their good conduct and excellent police, the author avowedly regards the natives, that some part of his own conduct may have been not perfectly amicable. After this, Abdoulrizack remained at Calicut from October to April, which abode, he says, was "horribly "painful," though he still gives no particulars. In the height of his distress, he asserts, that his sovereign, Schah Rokh, appeared to him in a dream, and assured him of speedy deliverance. Accordingly, next day, a mission arrived from the king of Bisnagar, requesting that the Mussulman ambassadors might be allowed to visit his court. This monarch was so powerful, that the Samori did not think it expedient to refuse. In a few days, therefore, Abdoulrizack was allowed to take leave of the people of Calicut, exclaiming, in the true spirit of Mahometan bigotry, "May "the curse of God be upon them!"

From Calicut our envoy proceeded to Menelgur (Mangalore), where he remained two or three days. Three farsangs beyond, he saw an

idol temple, which has not its equal in the world. The walls were garnished with porcelain and brass, while the interior contained four of human size, composed of massive gold, and with rubies serving for eyes. Soon after, he came to the foot of a mountain (the Ghauts), whose height obscured the sun, and which was so covered with woods and thorny shrubs, as to render the passage gloomy and difficult. After passing it, they came to Beglour, whose houses resembled palaces, and its females the celestial houris. Here, too, was a temple so lofty, that it could be seen from the distance of many leagues. It was surrounded by gardens, beautiful as those at Irem, and surmounted by a dome of polished blue stone, which reached to the skies. It is frequented by pilgrims from remote parts of India, the presents brought by whom form the chief support of the place.

After leaving Beglour, the embassy met with nothing remarkable, till they arrived at Bisnagar. They found it a very great city, capital of a kingdom (the Narsinga of Conti), which occupied nearly all the peninsula within the Ganges, excepting the south-west extremity, which composed the kingdom of Malabar, subject to the Samori. Bisnagar is surrounded with seven walls, forming the same number of enclosures within each other. Two of the outer enclosures contain

fields and gardens; but the four interior ones consist of houses, shops, and palaces. Around the king's palace are four bazaars or markets of great extent, and in which are exposed to sale every species of commodity, particularly flowers, which are considered, at Bisnagar, as much a necessary of life as food. On the right of the palace is a great hall, supported by forty columns, where the council of state is held; on the left is the treasury. He dwells particularly on one very large and handsome street, resembling a bazaar, inhabited by ladies, whose beauty was much more conspicuous than their virtue. Every morning, after the hour of prayers, they seat themselves at their doors, and use every art to induce the passenger to enter. Our author dwells upon the beauty and seductive arts of these damsels with considerably greater enthusiasm than might have been expected from a grave statesman and Imam. So lucrative was their trade, that the tax levied upon it was sufficient for the maintenance of twelve thousand guards, who were attached to the royal palace.

The embassy experienced a much better reception here than at Calicut. They were immediately lodged in a handsome house, and next day were admitted to an audience in the hall of forty columns. The prince was dressed in a robe of olive-coloured satin, covered with the most

brilliant pearls and diamonds. He was young, thin, of an olive colour, and a handsome figure; the hairs were just beginning to appear on his chin. He received graciously the letter of Schah Rokh, and expressed his satisfaction at receiving an embassy from so powerful a prince. Seeing the ambassador incommoded by the heat, he presented him with a Chinese fan; and after mutual presents, the audience was closed. The embassy received daily two sheep, four fowls, with a due proportion of rice, oil, and sugar; also a present of gold, betel, and camphor. The king, who gave them an audience twice a-week, told Abdoulrizack, that it was contrary to the custom of the country to give entertainments to ambassadors, in lieu of which these presents were sent. Under this shade of royal favour they enjoyed the spectacle of the great annual festival of Mahanady. A thousand elephants were collected, the largest belonging to the court; and their trunks, ears, and other parts of the body, were painted with various colours. On their backs were placed boxes open at the top, and filled with players upon all kinds of musical instruments. A square of scaffolding was erected, the loftiest and most splendid side of which was reserved for the king and his suite. In the interior space were the elephants performing their varied gambols; but the most attractive object consisted in the female

singers and dancers, the sight of whom rekindled all the raptures of our sage diplomatist. He declares that they were fresh and blooming as the verdure of spring, and that when they began to dance, the whole audience was charmed almost out of their senses. At the end of the three days which formed the duration of the festival, the ambassador was introduced to the king, whom he found on a throne of solid gold, finely carved, and blazing with jewels; on which throne he had been seated during the whole of the festival. His majesty held a long and gracious conversation with him, making many inquiries concerning his brother of Persia, and his capitals of Schiraz, Herat, and Samarcand; enumerating also various rich presents, of which it was intended to make Abdoulrizack the bearer. The ambassador left him therefore with feelings of the greatest satisfaction. A cloud, however, soon gathered around this favour. Some merchants of Ormus, who viewed it with envy, assured the court, that Abdoulrizack came without any authority whatever from Schah Rokh, and that he was a mere private adventurer. This assertion met with credit, and the ambassador soon found himself treated in a manner little better than that which had so deeply roused his indignation at Calicut. He complains particularly of the treatment which he received from the courtiers during the time when

the king was absent on an expedition to the south. That prince, however, on his return, sent for and dismissed him with some courtesy, giving him letters and a few presents to Schah Rokh, and assuring him of a better treatment if he should ever return with more solid proofs of a real mission. Abdoulrizack then set out, and having, on the 5th February 1444, set sail from the port of Bender Manor, he arrived, after a stormy passage, at Kalhat in Arabia.

About the end of the fifteenth century, the Eastern World was visited by a traveller in some respects of a superior order. Ludovico Barthema, "spurred by the desire to see the diversity "of worldly kingdoms," undertook and effected a long peregrination over almost all India. His narrative, though somewhat tinctured with credulity, displays a great fund of observation, and is written with a *naivete* and ingenuousness, which renders it very agreeable. At his return he found the Portuguese established on the coast of Malabar; but as his descriptions apply to India before it was acted upon by European intercourse, the present seems the most proper place in which to introduce them.

Barthema landed at Alexandria, and thence ascended the Nile to Cairo; of the grandeur of which city the most magnificent ideas were then

entertained in Europe. He found nothing so astonishing as he had been led to expect. Its extent appeared not to exceed that of Rome, though the population was greater. Travellers, he thinks, had been moved to exaggerate by confounding with it a number of the neighbouring villages. It was then the capital of the Soldan of the Mamelukes, who held sway, not only over Egypt, but over Syria and most of the provinces which had formed the centre of the power of the Caliphate.

Having undeceived himself as to Cairo, our traveller returned to Alexandria. He there took sail, landed at Berytus, and proceeded by Tripoli and Aleppo to Damascus. It is impossible, he says, to describe "the beauty and goodness of "that most noble city." Its political state, however, was afflicting, the population consisting of Moors, who "were beneath the Mamelukes, "as the lamb beneath the wolf." The government, he says, regularly administered to its subjects, not justice, but robbery and assassination. Each Mameluke had, or at least took the right, when he met a Moorish lady on the street, to seize and carry her off; though some of the gallants had been rather disconcerted, on lifting the veil, to recognize their own wives. He had been often told that the Moors took five or six wives, but he never saw more than three.

After staying some months at Damascus, Barthema "being desirous of seeing various things, "and not knowing how," contrived to insinuate himself into the favour of a Mameluke who was going as chief of a caravan to Mecca. On their way they touched at Mezaribe (capital of the Houari Arabs), governed by a prince called Zambei, who set at defiance the governments both of Cairo and Damascus, and made constant incursions into the fertile territories of Syria. These Arabs, he says, do not run, but fly like hawks; they ride on horses without a saddle, wearing merely a shirt. Their arms are canes pointed with iron; they are little men, of a dark leonine colour, with feminine voices, and long black hair. The caravan departed from Mezaribe, consisting of about thirty-five thousand persons, and forty thousand camels; it was guarded by sixty Mamelukes, of whom our author passed for one. He boasts much of his own and their prowess, stating, that when attacked by a large body of Arabs, they beat them off with the loss of only one man and one woman, and adds, that if they had been assaulted by fifty thousand, their triumph would have been equally complete. Yet it appears immediately after, that a body of four thousand being refused payment for their water, which was alleged to be the gift of God, blocked up the caravan for two days, till it was fain to

grant the terms demanded. Our author had the satisfaction of viewing the site of Sodom and Gomorrha, and marks of the vengeance inflicted on those guilty cities. He passed also a mountain inhabited by Jews, who defied the Mahometan power, and flayed alive every Moor that fell into their hands. At length they came to Medina, which he surnames Thalnalie, or the city of the prophet. He censures severely those who represented Mahomet as buried at Mecca, Medina being the real place of sepulture. They were led to the mosque of interment,—a square edifice a hundred paces long and eighty broad; the roof was supported by four hundred columns of whitened *terra cotta*, and had about three thousand lamps suspended from it. The captain of the caravan, a new convert, who wished to shew his Mahometan zeal, made an earnest petition to see the body of the great prophet; but was derided for such a demand, when all true Mussulmen knew that it had been long ago carried up to heaven, in the most conspicuous mansion of which it was now deposited. While the caravan were reposing at night in their encampment, they heard shouts raised as if all the Arabs in a body had been coming to rob them. The captain running to the gate, saw a number of men with their faces turned towards the city, and shouting with all their might. On being asked

the cause of so unheard-of an outcry, they pointed to the sepulchre of Mahomet, whence they said a pure and brilliant flame was issuing. The captain protested that he saw nothing; and the Mamelukes being asked all round, declared that no such vision was discoverable by them. The Moors were hereupon heard remarking to each other the wretched spiritual state of these pretended converts, whose eyes were so blinded as not to discern celestial objects, even when they were placed in full view.

In travelling from Medina to Mecca, Barthema passed over an immense plain covered with small white sand like flour, which, though the wind was moderate, so filled the air, that they could not see each other at the distance of ten yards. Those who rode on horseback had their heads enclosed in wooden boxes, with small apertures for the admission of air; while pilots went before, searching their way as through a terrible ocean. Barthema was taught to dread, that if the wind had blown with violence, the whole caravan would have been buried beneath the drift; but this was probably one of his groundless panics. Mecca, when he reached it, appeared to him a city struck by the malediction of God. The surrounding country produces neither herbs, trees, nor fruits, and water is so scarce, that a man cannot drink his fill under four pence a-day. It is sup-

plied with necessaries partly from Cairo, and partly from Ethiopia by its port of Zider (Jiddà). In the midst of the city is a most beautiful temple, with ninety or a hundred gates. At each entrance you descend by a flight of twenty or thirty steps, on which are traders selling nothing but jewels. At the foot of the stairs is the temple, which is covered all over with gold, and filled with four or five thousand persons, selling every sort of odoriferous substance, whether for scent, medicine, or embalming. The centre consists of an open court, within which is a small tower, (the celebrated Kaaba), hung with silk, and having a silver door. At a little distance is a well seventy yards deep, and filled with saltish water, where seven or eight persons are constantly stationed. To them the pilgrims, after having made seven times the circuit of the Kaaba, repair, and place themselves on the brink of the well, when the men then pour three buckets of water over them from head to foot. Then, says he, these fools think that all their sins are washed down into the well, and that they become quite holy and pure. The sacrifices were very great, amounting on the first day to not less than thirty thousand oxen. The flesh was given to the poor, and so far as Barthema could observe, the great multitudes of that class here assembled shewed a much deeper anxiety to fill their bellies, than to obtain remission

of their sins. The demand, indeed, seemed still to exceed the supply, since he saw the rich pilgrims, as they eat great quantities of cucumbers, throwing away the skins, which skins, covered with sand and dirt, were eagerly scrambled for by the mendicant crowd.

Mecca appeared to Barthema a large city, and so thronged with pilgrims, that during six weeks' stay he never saw so many people in one place. Here and in Medina he had an opportunity of observing the sects into which the Mussulman faith was divided, the trifling grounds of the differences, and the fury with which they were prosecuted. "Thus," says he, "this stupid multitude "cut themselves to pieces, and kill each other "like beasts, about these heresies which are all "follies."

According to the arrangement under which he had come to Mecca, Barthema ought, as a Mameluke, to have returned to Damascus, but this retrograde movement was quite foreign to the eager desire which impelled him to visit distant regions. This object could not be effected, without an entire outward renunciation of his country and religion. He began therefore to heap every kind of obloquy on the king of Portugal, and at the same time to express his wish of seeing some country where the Christian faith was held in still greater detestation than in those he had yet visited. At

length he formed an acquaintance with a Moor who had seen him in Italy, and who introduced him to the captain of a caravan that was going to India. It was expedient, however, to act the *incognito*, till Mecca was cleared of his friends from Damascus. He thought, he says, he would have died with fear when the drum beat through the town, announcing the departure of the caravan, and that every Mameluke, under pain of death, must instantly repair to his post. He was tenderly guarded, however, by his landlady, wife to the Moor already mentioned, and by a beautiful niece of fifteen who lived in the house. This niece was offered to him in marriage with a handsome fortune; but her charms had not influence sufficient to divert the traveller from his ruling passion. There appears some room for doubt, whether Barthema kept very strict faith with this young lady; he at least admits, that both she and her aunt loaded him at his departure with the bitterest reproaches. He departed, however, and with the rest of the caravan, took ship at Jidda. They spent a considerable time in proceeding down the Red Sea, as, from the fear of concealed rocks, they did not venture to sail in the night. At length they reached Aden, then the great emporium of Arabia, where they were all obliged to land, and to bring on shore even the masts and sails, in order that the Sultan might not be de-

fráuded of his duties. During this stay, Barthema was so unfortunate as to get into a quarrel with one of his comrades, who upbraided him by the term of "Christian dog;" which words being overheard by a Moor of the city, were immediately reported to the Vice-Sultan. The consequence was, that he was forthwith arrested and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained sixty-five days, loaded with eighteen pounds weight of iron. At the end of this period he was conveyed to Radha for the purpose of being examined before the Sultan. On being introduced into the presence, and interrogated, he acknowledged that he was an European by birth, but insisted that he was now a Mameluke, and a zealous Mussulmán. The monarch then called upón him to repeat the profession of faith, "There is no God "but God, and Mahomet is the prophet of God;" which words Barthema, notwithstanding his most vehement efforts, was quite unable to pronounce. He is willing to believe, that God, by a special miracle, may have saved him from this additional sin; yet throws out the more probable suggestion, that the excess of fear deprived him of the power of utterance. Be this as it may, having failed in exhibiting the test required, he was sent instantly to a more rigorous prison than before. He did not see the air for three months, and received daily two cakes of millet, six of which would not

have sufficed him; yet this would have been nothing, had he had enough of water. It luckily happened, however, that the Sultan went to make war with his neighbour at Sana, leaving at Radha his queen, and twelve other "most beautiful "black ladies." These tender-hearted dames, pitying the case of the prisoners, allowed them to take the air in a court adjoining to the dungeons. Our author and his companions now bethought themselves, that one should assume the character of an idiot, as what might lead to opportunities of escape; and the lot fell upon Barthema. The combined character of Christian and idiot made him the object of malignant derision to all the boys in the neighbourhood; he was overwhelmed with showers of stones, and though he attempted to return the compliment, yet being one against more than a hundred, he by no means stood on an equal footing. While thus engaged, however, he was seen from the window by the Sultana, who was caught by the handsome figure of the young Italian, and whose favourable observations soon discerned that there was method in his madness. She caused him, therefore, to be accommodated with an apartment in the lower part of the palace, supplied him with the most delicate viands, and came in person to visit him. Her suspicions as to his pretended folly were soon confirmed, and, pleased with the interview, she came back every

evening, and would often gaze on him for hours, pathetically exclaiming, "This man is white, and "my husband is black; I wish this man were my "husband." It is easy to foresee the overtures to which her majesty would be led by a continued indulgence of such meditations. Our hero, however, acted on this occasion like a second Joseph, his virtue being greatly fortified by the assurance of immediate death in case of discovery, which appeared to him inevitable. Being plied, however, by the unremitted solicitations of the lady, he evaded them by pretending sickness, and then alleged that it was necessary, for the recovery of his health, to visit a holy man who resided at *Aden*. The queen kindly permitted him to go, and provided him with every accommodation; but once arrived at Aden, he lost no time in forming an engagement with an Indian captain to convey him thither. His curiosity remaining unabated by his sufferings, he spent a month, which was to elapse before his departure, in visiting Sana and other parts of Arabia Felix which he had not yet seen.

From Aden Barthema sailed to Ormuz. He gives the usual account of its commerce and flourishing state, but dwells chiefly upon a dreadful tragedy, of which it had been the theatre. The eldest son of the late king had in one night killed his father, mother, and all his brothers,

and conveying them into one room, burned them to ashes. He enjoyed for a fortnight the succession obtained by this horrible crime, when he was himself killed by a Christian slave, who now administered the government in name of a prince who had escaped in consequence of a deficiency of intellect.

Barthema did not attempt to proceed into the interior of Persia, as the Sophi was laying waste the whole country, and exterminating all the Mahometans who believed in Abubeker and Omar. He sailed therefore across to Cambaia, which he found also subject to a Mahometan sovereign. The Guzurates, he says, are a generation who eat nothing that has blood, and kill nothing that has life. They are neither Moors nor Gentoos, but he thinks if they were baptized, they would certainly be all saved, on account of the many good works which they perform. This excess of goodness had rendered them the prey of Machamuth the present king, who was of a very different disposition. The beard of this prince was so huge, that his mustachios were tied over his head like a lady's hair, while the rest depended downwards as far as his girdle. He was continually chewing a fruit like a nut wrapt in leaves, (the Areka and betel); and when he squirted the juice upon any one, it was a signal that this person should be put to death, which

sentence was executed in half an hour. His women amounted to between three and four thousand, and the one with whom he spent the night was said to be always found dead in the morning; a report by which we confess our faith to be somewhat staggered. He then gives an account of the Jogues (Yogees), or Indian hermits; whom he erroneously considers not as a class, but as a nation whose king is at constant war with that of Guzerat. They amount to 30,000, and once in three or four years go in pilgrimage throughout all India, clothed in goat-skins, and begging their way: some make a vow never to sit on the ground, others never on any thing but the ground; some never lie down, others have their legs loaded with heavy iron chains. Every one receives them well, and if they kill the greatest man in the country, no cognizance is taken of it, all their actions being reputed holy.

In sailing along the coast, our author touched at Cevul (Surat?), Dabul, a place which he calls Decan, Onor, Mangalore, whence he went to Bisnagar, the capital of Narsinga. The king appeared to him the greatest monarch he ever heard of, while Bisnagar enjoyed the finest air and most beautiful situation that ever was seen. The king keeps forty thousand horse, although horses bear an immense price, none being bred in the country, but all imported. He adores the devil in the

manner which the author delays reporting till he comes to treat of Calicut, whither he next bent his course, and to which, indeed, he has all along referred for the fullest description of India.

Calicut, according to Barthema, is the head of India, and the chief seat of its dignity. This does not reside in its edifices, none of the walls exceeding the height of a man on horseback; the reason of which is, that in digging a few feet into the ground they come always to water, which renders it impossible to lay any deep foundation. The place lies so close upon the sea, that the tide beats the walls of the houses. Barthema never saw in any town such a variety of people; they were enumerated as coming from almost every port and country in Arabia, Ethiopia, Persia, Indostan, Pegu, Sumatra, and the other Indian islands. Yet the natives of the country are not navigators; and the trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Moors, of whom there were resident in Calicut about fifteen thousand.

Our author now undertakes to give some account of the religious system prevalent here and all along the coast. The natives believe, he says, in the existence of one Supreme Being, but think his enjoyment would be small, should he take cognizance of all the troublesome matters that occur in this world; he has therefore entrusted the immediate management of earthly concerns to

the devil, who is called here the Deuma. Our author was ushered into the presence of this august personage, whom he found made of metal, seated on a throne, with a triple crown similar to that of the Pope. He exhibited four horns, and four teeth in a huge open mouth, eyes flaming with fury, his hands bent in the manner of a screw, and his feet in that of a cock, so that on the whole Barthema never beheld so frightful a figure. On looking round the room, too, he saw a Satan seated at every corner, each holding in his hand and busily devouring a soul about the size of the middle finger. The door was richly carved with devils in relievo. Every morning the Bramins wash the idol with odoriferous water; nor does the king eat any thing, till a tender of it has first been made to the devil.

In treating of the state of society on this coast, the author gives the usual account of the casts into which it is divided, the pride of the Nairs, and the degraded state of the Poliars (Pariars), who whenever they approach within fifty yards of a Bramin or Nair, may be killed, without the slightest penalty incurred. These unfortunate beings, therefore, are obliged to lurk in the marshes and concealed corners, or if they ever come into open day, cry continually with all their might, in order that their lordly superiors may have an opportunity to avoid the contamination of their

presence. None of the natives, rich or poor, male or female, wear even a shirt; they have merely a piece of cotton tied round the waist, and their hair hanging down. He mentions it as a custom prevalent among the merchants and gentlemen, that any two who entertain a particular affection for each other, cement it by exchanging wives. The proposition being made and agreed to, the husbands go home and announce it to their helpmates, who are said usually to concur with cheerfulness in the transaction. Among other classes, the lady has five, six, or seven husbands, to each of whom a certain portion of her time is allotted.

After leaving Calicut, our traveller rounded the peninsula of India, touched at Ceylon, and, on reaching Paliacate, took ship for Tarnassari, which appears to be some town near the mouth of the Kisna or Godavery. He found it the residence of a very powerful monarch, who maintained an army of a hundred thousand men, with a hundred armed elephants, the largest that he had ever seen. At this place an instance occurred of a widow burning herself on the dead body of her husband. From Tarnassari he sailed to Bengal, thence to Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, the "greatest and richest island in the world," and Java. Our limits will not permit us to follow him through these peregrinations. On his return

to Calicut, he found a deadly war raging between its king and the Portuguese, who were now established at Cananor. This involved him in considerable danger, and it was with difficulty that, under disguise of a holy man, he made his escape to Cananor. After being some time employed there in the service of government, he returned to Europe by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY OF INDIA BY THE PORTUGUESE.

Vasco de Gama.—Pedro Alvarez Cabral.—Juan de Nueva.—Second Voyage of Gama.—Exploits of Albuquerque.—Extent of Portuguese Empire.—Its Decline.

THE discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese, present a series of exploits, stained indeed with violence and blood, but marked by the most splendid enterprise and heroic valour. These events, however, belong more properly to general history, which has already recorded them; nor could they, without difficulty, be comprehended within the limits of the present work, which are scarcely adequate to its appropriate objects. It is proposed, therefore, at present to confine our notice to what may be strictly called Voyages of Discovery; which exhibit the Portuguese arriving as strangers upon these unknown shores, and the impressions made upon them by the first aspect of the Indian world.

In a former work, while tracing the progress of Portuguese navigation around Africa, occasion was taken to exhibit the steps by which they

explored and occupied the whole of its western coast. There, too, we followed VASCO DE GAMA in his grand achievement of doubling the Cape; and in his difficult and perilous progress along the eastern coast, till he found a favourable reception at Melinda. At that place he obtained a pilot, who undertook to conduct him across the Indian Ocean to Malabar. This navigation, through an immense ocean, without sight of land, and where for two thousand miles nothing was to be discovered but sea and sky, was new and formidable to European mariners. They enjoyed, however, during the whole period, a prosperous monsoon, having the wind continually at their stern. On the day after their departure, they had a view of the northern Polar Star, well known as their early guide through the deep; but to which their eyes had long been strangers. On the twenty-third day the pilot discovered land; but as it was not the part of the coast which he sought, he made soundings, put out again to sea, and steered south-east. Four days after he descried the lofty mountains which rose above Calicut. He immediately called out to inform the admiral, that the wished-for coast was at length attained. Gama came up, and beheld those splendid and celebrated shores, which he had braved so many tempests, and traversed such vast oceans to visit. A salute was immediately

fired, a solemn thanksgiving was offered, and the ship echoed with shouts of rejoicing. Some boats piloted them to Calicut, which they found an immense city, situated close to the sea, yet affording no harbour, but merely an open roadstead. Its coast, too, did not present the same busy scene as usual. The rainy season, which then prevailed, was considered so unfavourable, that all the foreign vessels had departed, and even most of the native boats were laid up in the rivers. Gama immediately sent his pilot on shore, to intimate his arrival to the king, and request permission to land. He felt some anxiety when a day and a half elapsed without any intelligence; but, at the end of that time, the pilot appeared, and with him a Barbary Moor, whom Castanheda calls Bontaybo, and Di Barros, Monzaide. This person running up to the admiral, cried out in Portuguese, "Welcome, "welcome; many rubies, many emeralds, many "thanks you owe to God, for bringing you "to a country where you will find rubies, "gems, and all the riches in the world." The sound of their native language on this distant shore, conveying moreover such grateful tidings, threw all the crew into an ecstacy of joy. Their pleasure was heightened when they received the answer of the king, who expressed his readiness to receive them into his ports, and advised the

admiral to move his vessels round to Pandarane, where he could find a safer and more commodious station; a proposition most agreeable to Gama, who was by no means satisfied with the place which he then occupied. On arriving at Pandarane, he was received by the Cutwal or first minister of the Zamorin, accompanied by two hundred men, and with every honour and courtesy. He was surprised when, instead of being conveyed on horses or mules, he found himself mounted in a palanquin; but the comfort enjoyed in this vehicle, and the rapidity with which it moved, soon reconciled him. At Capocat, where they stopped for the night, the Cutwal led him to view a magnificent native temple. It resembled a large monastery, built of the finest stone, and adorned in front with a lofty pillar of brass, surmounted by an ensign, which bore the semblance of a weathercock. The Portuguese had been led to believe that they would find on this coast Christians of St Thomas, and the whole aspect of the edifice seemed so decidedly Catholic, that they hesitated not to fall on their knees, to the great edification of their Indian attendants. One of them, however, happening to look up, and seeing the frightful aspect of these images, and the enormous tusks projecting out of their mouth, judged it prudent to enter a *caveat*, and exclaimed, "If "there be devils, it is God that I worship." In

proceeding to Calicut, they were followed by an ever increasing crowd of spectators. When they approached the palace, it became so immense, that an entrance would have been impossible, had not the attendants brandished their batons with such diligence and fury, that by dint of many broken heads, a passage was at length opened. The palace, though large, and surrounded with fine gardens, yet being built only of earth, did not make outwardly a very brilliant appearance. On entering, however, they beheld a mighty display of eastern pomp. The great hall was set round with raised seats, as in a theatre; the floor was covered with green velvet, and the walls hung with silks of various colours. The Zamorin, at the farther end of the apartment, reclined on a sofa, his head resting on a cushion of embroidered silk, while his whole dress and person were covered with pearls and diamonds. He was chewing betel, which he took out of a golden basin by his side, having at his feet another, into which he spit the juice. Gama approached, and made "reverence due," by touching the ground with his forehead; to which the proud potentate made no other return, than merely raising his head from the cushion. Gama, however, made a long speech, stating the vast distance he had sailed, attracted merely by the fame of the Zamorin's power, and of the wealth of his dominions. He added, that

Portugal produced many valuable articles, which being exchanged for those found in this country, would greatly augment that trade in which the prosperity of his territories consisted. The monarch inclined his ear to these arguments. He told Gama, that he was welcome; and on the latter expressing a wish for a private audience, the prince withdrew into a neighbouring apartment, where, throwing himself upon a sofa, he made many inquiries concerning the situation, distance, and resources of the kingdom of Portugal, and said that he would send an ambassador to the court of this new ally. The Portuguese were then sent in state to their lodgings; and Gama, charmed with his reception, could not forbear exclaiming, "They little think in Portugal what "honour is done us here."

The favour with which the Portuguese were treated, did not long escape the observation of the Moorish merchants resident at Calicut, who had hitherto carried on exclusively the trade of that place, and of all the neighbouring coast. They now saw themselves in the most imminent danger of being, in a great measure, supplanted; and they determined, says Di Barros, that no effort on their part should be omitted "to plunge "our vessels into the bottom of the sea." Having raised therefore a large sum, they bribed the Cutwal, who had been appointed to attend on De

Gama, and the factor who had been directed to assist him in his commercial transactions. These persons were not long of finding an advantageous occasion of which they could lay hold. De Gama, fully aware, says Di Barros, that presents, in the East, were the beginning and end of all things, had yet not prepared one which manifested any very deep impression of this truth. It consisted merely of a few pieces of scarlet cloth, branches of coral, six hats, a few shells, and jars of sugar, oil, and honey. At the sight of these gifts, the Cutwal and factor burst into an ungovernable fit of laughter. They declared, that the presentation of such things to their great monarch was wholly out of the question; that the meanest merchant who entered the harbour produced something much handsomer. His best friends, indeed, were struck with dismay at the view of these donations; even Monzaide declared that he could not possibly recommend their transmission. Gama, however, either from pride, or from not having any thing better, adhered to what he had first exhibited; and the issue of the affair was, that no presents whatever were offered. Hereupon the Cutwal took occasion to assure the Zamorin, that he had been quite deceived as to the character and rank of these pretended ambassadors; that they were banished malefactors, who had betaken themselves to piracy, which

they had been exercising in the most outrageous manner all over the eastern coast of Africa. The clear proof of their appearing under a false character was, that they had not brought a single present, which they certainly must have done, had they come, as they pretended, the representatives of a great sovereign. In consequence of these representations, Gama, when he came next to crave an audience, was kept three hours in waiting, was received with a very cold and frowning aspect, and was particularly reproached with the want of a present. He excused this deficiency by the uncertainty under which he had set out, of ever arriving at his destination; but assured the prince, that he would return with a noble present. The letters were then ordered to be read; and these bearing the stamp of authenticity, and giving a pompous account of the productions of Portugal, smoothed somewhat the rugged brow of his majesty. He gave Gama permission to return to the vessel, to land and to sell his cargo. The Cutwal, however, whose office it was to conduct him to Pandarane, and preside at his embarkation, contrived there to put him in close confinement; and it was with great difficulty, and after reluctantly landing a considerable part of the goods, that Gama obtained permission to proceed to the vessel. It was so contrived, that at Pandarane not a single bidder

should appear for any of the articles. Gama, finding his stay thus rendered fruitless, sent Diaz his agent to the king, to make heavy complaints of the conduct of Cutwal and factor. The king expressed dissatisfaction at the treatment he had met with, and promised to send persons who would buy the goods. He sent accordingly eight Guzarat merchants; but these being gained over, made no propositions for any part of the cargo. Gama at last sent to entreat the king's permission to bring his goods to Calicut, seeing Pandarane was entirely in the hands of his enemies. He obtained this liberty, and found it to answer his expectation; the cargo, when transported to Calicut, being easily and advantageously sold. The inhabitants at the same time became extremely intimate with the Portuguese, and came familiarly on board, either to make purchases, or to satisfy their curiosity. Gama, however, though repeatedly invited, declined all invitations to land, being warned by Monzaide of the precarious state of the king's disposition, and the facility with which he would be acted upon by those about his person. When he had finished his sales, however, he sent Diaz on shore, to notify to the king his intention of departing, and to request permission to leave a factor and secretary at Calicut, as also to invite his majesty to follow up his original design of sending an ambassador to his brother of Portugal.

On the introduction of Diaz, the king, with the most uncourteous frown, asked what he wanted, and on receiving his message, said, the Portuguese might go where they pleased, but that they must first pay the dues of port. He looked with the utmost scorn on the slender present with which Diaz came provided, and desired it to be delivered to the factor. The hopes of the Portuguese envoy, however, revived, when, on leaving the palace, he found himself attended by several of the principal Nayrs, who escorted him to the factory; but, when he had despatched his business there, and was coming out, he found the same Nayrs standing sentry at the door to bar his egress, and received notice, that the factory, for the present, was to be his prison. At the same time, all were prohibited from going on board the Portuguese fleet, or conveying thither any intelligence. Their steady friend Monzaide, however, found his way on board, and gave them notice of the factor's thraldom. He added, that the king was now entirely gained over by the Moors, and that the sole object of his former conciliatory conduct had been to induce the squadron to remain till a force sufficient to overpower it should arrive from the Red Sea. Gama was now much at a loss how to regain his factor. A boat came out with four boys, evidently spies. He received them with all the usual courtesy,

pretending to know nothing of what had occurred at Calicut. Others came next, of a more respectable cast, but still not sufficiently so to be worth detaining. At length he saw approaching a party, in exchange for whom he thought he would receive the factor. They consisted of six Nayrs and fifteen other natives of distinction, who, on coming on board, were instantly arrested. Notice was then sent to the Zamorin, that they would not be returned until his secretary and factor were set at liberty. The king immediately began to treat his prisoners more favourably; but though beset with tears and entreaties by the relations of the captive Nayrs, he kept the affair hanging in suspense, still hoping to detain the squadron till his end was accomplished. Gama, however, determining to cut short all delays, caused his vessels to weigh anchor and set sail, giving notice to the Indians, that unless they followed him immediately with the factor and secretary, he would not only detain, but behead their nobles. The consequence was, that when they had nearly lost sight of land, seven boats were seen pushing off from the shore with all speed, out of one of which were produced the factor and secretary. The admiral then restored his principal captives, but retained several, until certain goods which he had left on shore were brought out. Next day appeared seven boats, the foremost of which an-

nounced, that the goods were in those behind; but Gama, thinking they were deceiving him, he does not say how, sailed off, abandoning his merchandise, and carrying in exchange the Indian chiefs to Portugal. He thus departed at open war with the Zamorin, from whom, in a gleam of favour, he had lately received for his sovereign the following laconic epistle: "Vasco de Gama, "a gentleman of your court, came to my king-"dom, from whose coming I had great pleasure. "In this my country there is much cinnamon, "much pepper, much ginger, many cloves, and "a great quantity of gems. That which I wish "from your country is gold, silver, coral, and "scarlet cloth."

Gama, after leaving Calicut, continued to sail along the coast in a north-west direction. He was repeatedly attacked by squadrons of boats sent by the Zamorin, but always repulsed them. In approaching Goa, he found himself exposed to a more serious peril. One day, a small boat came alongside; on board of which was a man about forty, whose dress was different from that usually worn in the country. He accordingly professed himself a Levant Christian, and, from that circumstance, warmly attached to all of the same faith. He ran up and embraced the admiral and all his captains, as if they had been his intimate friends, with expressions of the most

extravagant joy. He stated himself to be in the service of the *Zabaio* or sovereign of Goa; a prince of great power, commanding an army of forty thousand horse, and who, he assured them, though outwardly professing the Mahometan faith, was at heart a Christian, and entertained the most longing desire to see and converse with them. He added, that if they chose to proceed to Goa, they might depend upon receiving gifts to a great extent, and handsome appointments, if they chose to reside there. This person appearing to display greater fluency and smoothness of speech than is wont to be combined with rigid honesty, Gama determined not to proceed upon his words till they should be corroborated by surer testimony. A strict inquiry then gave room to doubt, that both his character and his designs in relation to the Portuguese were of the most suspicious nature. Hereupon, the admiral caused him to be severely bastinadoed; and, when that measure yielded no important result, to be tortured in the most barbarous manner, till the confession was at last wrung out of him, that he was a spy of the Zabaio, and that this prince was busily employed in preparing a great armament, destined to destroy the Portuguese squadron. Every creek, river, and bay on the coast were full, it seems, of barks ready to co-operate, at a moment's warning, in this design. After ex-

tracting such intelligence, Gama judged it high time for him to be no longer seen on this coast. Although then neither the season, nor his state of preparation, were favourable for crossing the ocean, he steered direct for Africa. The ships in this passage suffered dreadfully, both from storms and calms, and, above all, from the scurvy, a disease almost new to navigators, and for which no remedy was yet known. Gama was not permitted to land by the Moors of Magadoxo; but, on reaching Melinda, experienced the same friendly reception as before, and had an opportunity of refreshing his crew. He enjoyed then a prosperous voyage round Africa, and entered the Tagus in September 1599, after a voyage of two years and two months, and with only fifty of the hundred and eight men who had set sail along with him.

The Portuguese sovereigns had ever shewn an extraordinary elation at the success of their voyages of discovery. Their exultation then became almost unbounded, on an event which appeared to open to them all the wealth of the eastern world. The king, who had already assumed the title of Lord of Guinea and Ethiopia, hesitated not to annex India and Persia to his nominal empire. At the same time public thanksgivings were offered throughout the whole kingdom; a series of splendid fêtes were held in the capital;

Gama was invested with letters of nobility, and a large fortune to support its dignity. This was soon followed by the more substantial measure of fitting out a fleet, on a much greater scale, for the purpose of enforcing that full right to his new dominions, which was supposed to be vested in him by the Papal grant. The command of this new armament was not given to Gama. The Portuguese historians assign no cause for the change; and as it is their custom to observe a profound silence on every subject, which does not tend to reflect honour on their monarch, we may suspect some court intrigue to have been at work. The new admiral, however, was a man of merit, PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL, under whose command were placed thirteen vessels, and 1200 men, including a liberal allowance of Franciscan friars. The day of their departure formed a general jubilee, the whole population of Lisbon being poured down upon the river and its banks, which were filled with trumpets, music, colours, pennons, garlands of flowers, and all sights and sounds of rejoicing.

The commencement of Cabral's voyage was brilliant. In endeavours to shun the coast of Africa, he fell in with that of America, and discovered Brasil, an immense country, which has since become the most valuable foreign appendage of Portugal. In his voyage round Africa,

he met with various vicissitudes, and lost several of his vessels; but on the 13th September 1500, he reached the port of Calicut. He sent on shore the natives whom Gama had brought with him, and who were joyfully welcomed. Notice was then given to the king, of his desire to obtain an audience, and to make arrangements for a trade which might be advantageous to both parties; but stating, that by the instructions of the king his master, he was forbidden to land, without having previously received on board hostages. The king made a courteous answer, expressing a wish to see Cabral, and to afford to the Portuguese every opportunity for carrying on trade; but demurred as to the hostages, stating that he could send only Bramins, men advanced in life, and who viewed with horror the idea of entering a ship where, according to their law, they could neither eat, nor drink, nor perform any of their sacred ablutions. Cabral, however, stood firm to his demand, and the king, after holding out for three days, at length gave in, swayed either by the desire of trade, or, as Di Barros rather supposes, by the imposing strength of the Portuguese armament. Gama's breach of faith, however, had shaken all confidence; so that the hostages, on entering the ship, manifested the deepest dismay and fear, lest Cabral, without coming himself, should seize and carry them off. No

such intention existed in the breast of the admiral, who had desired his men to equip themselves in the handsomest attire, and to wear all the jewels in their possession, in order to inspire the Zamorin if possible with a higher idea of Portugal, than he had derived from De Gama's slender donations. The king, in order that as little time as possible might be spent in the interview, caused a gallery to be erected close to the sea, where he waited their arrival in a comparatively small apartment, but his person covered with such a blaze of jewels, as quite dazzled the Portuguese. Cabral began a speech in the usual style, stating that they had been attracted back by the great fame of the wealth and power of the Zamorin, and by the wish to possess some of the precious commodities with which his dominions abounded, in return for which they would give others, which would enrich both himself and his kingdom. This oration was accompanied with a present, consisting of several vessels of silver, and velvets richly embroidered with gold lace, which passed at least without any comments. The king expressed a friendly disposition, promised all reasonable accommodations with respect to trade, and said they might retire either to lodgings or the ships; only that there could be no delay in returning the hostages. On this ground the ships were preferred; but as soon as Cabral's

boats were seen coming out, those venerable personages still labouring under the most mortal alarm, leaped into the sea, and endeavoured to gain the shore. Several escaped; but the rest were taken up, and rudely thrust under the hatches. So violent a distrust was now established, that neither durst the Portuguese convey them on shore, nor the Indians come to receive them. They remained therefore three days on board, without tasting a morsel, and in a state of such deep consternation, that it appeared problematical how long they would survive; Cabral, however, at length contrived to get them put on shore at some point where they would not be reached by the enemy's vessels.

These untoward circumstances caused a suspension of intercourse with the shore; however, when Barrea, one of the mariners, proved courageous enough to land, he found the disposition of the king still favourable. That prince, now convinced of the greatness of the king of Portugal, and of their authority being really derived from him, seems to have been for the present sincere. He assured them of every facility which he could afford for disposing of their goods, and even offered them in full property, a house in which they might be deposited. The Portuguese then began their operations with activity. The Moors, meanwhile, never relaxed their efforts.

They bribed the factors, bought up the goods which were wanted, and intimidated the holders from coming to sell them. The king seems to have afforded all the redress in his power; but the Moors were too much both for him and the Portuguese; and three months elapsed without their having laden two ships. At length the king, wearied with their continual remonstrances, told them, that if the Moors really did as was said, they were welcome to take the spices out of their vessels, upon giving the price which had been paid for them. This permission was hailed by the Moors as a rock on which their enemies would certainly split. They began, therefore, ostentatiously loading a vessel with spices, causing representations, at the same time, to be made to the Portuguese factors, that unless they took some strong measures, there was no chance of their ever obtaining a cargo. The factors, therefore, sent out to Cabral, urging him to make an immediate seizure of the vessel in question. Cabral judged this a very delicate step, and at first wholly declined it; but, urged by repeated messages from shore, he at length sent his boats, who took the ship, and brought it into the harbour. This was the moment for which the Moors had been long on the watch. They immediately ran through the city, making the most doleful lamentation, and representing the Portuguese as a band

of robbers, who were in the act of stripping them of every thing they had. According to Di Barros, the whole of what followed was done by popular tumult, while Castanneda asserts, that they went to the king, and after a long tale of their grievances, obtained permission to inflict vengeance with their own hands. They then ran furiously to arms, and hastened to the factory, which was fortified with a wall about the height of a man on horseback, and defended by seventy Portuguese. The latter at first imagined them merely a mob; and having hastily shut the gates, prepared for a vigorous defence. When they saw, however, that they were besieged by a great armed force, among whom were several officers of the Zamorin, they hoisted a flag as a signal of distress. Cabral being ill of a fever, and not comprehending its full import, merely sent two boats to reconnoitre. When these brought word that the factory was surrounded by a vast body of armed Moors, he sent all his boats; but before these could reach the land, all was over. The Portuguese finding themselves unable to make head against the fury of the assailants, endeavoured to escape by a door which opened to the sea, but were set upon so furiously, that the whole were killed, except twenty, who escaped wounded to the boats. Correa, the chief factor, was among the slain.

This tragedy finally closed all amicable proceedings between the Portuguese and the Zamorin. Cabral immediately proceeded to take bloody revenge. He attacked ten large ships which lay near him, killed, or made prisoners of all their crews, and set them on fire in presence of the whole city. He then commenced a furious cannonade upon Calicut itself, setting fire to many of its edifices, while one of the balls was reported to have very nearly struck the Zamorin himself. The admiral then sailed southwards to Cochin, a kingdom smaller than that of Calicut, and in some degree its vassal. The king being understood to be up in the country, Cabral sent to him Michel, an Indian hermit, one of those who seek the fame of sanctity by wandering over the world naked, loaded with chains, and smeared with the ashes of cow-dung. This venerable personage found the monarch entirely pre-disposed in favour of the mission. He viewed with envy the extensive commerce of Calicut, and the superior wealth and power which it produced to the Zamorin. These, he hoped, Cochin might be enabled to rival, by means of the friendship and trade of the Portuguese. He therefore received with courtesy the holy itinerant; and sent notice that the Portuguese were at perfect liberty to carry on trade at his port, in any manner which they might find most convenient. On

their demand of hostages, he readily sent four of his principal Bramins; but, as these holy personages, while on shipboard, would neither speak nor look at the Portuguese, nor taste a morsel of food, it was necessary that, after a short interval, they should be relieved by others from this heavy thraldom, and should have an opportunity of purifying themselves from the stains contracted by so profane a visit. Although Cabral's patience was somewhat wearied out by this constant succession of unsocial visitants, he had no other reason to complain. They had an audience of the king, but give few particulars of his residence, only remarking, that the apartment, the dress, and the attendants, formed a complete contrast to that imposing pomp which had dazzled their eyes at the court of the Zamorin. However, though this circumstance mortified a little their vanity, they enjoyed a much more solid benefit in the continuance of royal favour, and were enabled in a month to complete their cargo, partly at Cochin, and partly in the neighbouring river of Cranganor. At the end of that period, a fleet of eighty vessels came from Calicut to attack them. Cabral at first made a shew of facing this armament, but on mature consideration judged it more eligible to take advantage of a favourable wind, and sail off. He touched at Cananor, where his reception was, if possible, still more cordial than at

Cochin. As his means of purchase were exhausted, while some empty space still remained in the vessels, the king most liberally invited him to take on credit whatever could serve his purpose. Cabral, however, declined the offer, and steered his course across to Melinda. He arrived at Lisbon on the 31st July 1501.

Before the arrival of Cabral, the King of Portugal had sent Juan de Nueva with another fleet, consisting of three ships and a caravel with four hundred men. Presuming upon the success of Cabral, Nueva was preparing to steer direct for Calicut, when luckily, by a letter left in an old shoe at San Blas on the coast of Africa, he found how matters really stood. He sailed then to Cananor and Cochin, where he met a good reception, though the king of Cochin appeared to consider the retreat of Cabral as having been much too abrupt. The Moors had, it is said, now persuaded the merchants not to accept of any Portuguese commodities, nor of any thing but money in exchange for their spices. This unfavourable turn was probably much less owing to any intrigues of the Moors, than to the state of the Indian market, which has ever since continued in this respect the same. It placed the Portuguese admiral in a serious dilemma, as, having brought out nothing but goods, he could not have carried on any trade whatever, had not the king become

bound for payment of a certain quantity of spices. As soon as his arrival transpired, a large fleet was sent from Calicut to attack him. Nueva, however, boldly encountered them, and notwithstanding the vast inferiority of his force, derived such advantage from his artillery, that he killed a great number, without suffering himself almost any loss. The enemy at last besought a truce, which Nueva was too much exhausted to think of refusing. After this, the king of Calicut sent an apologetic letter, with an invitation to Calicut, of which it does not appear that Nueva chose to avail himself.

The arrival of Cabral, and the intelligence of the vicissitudes which he had experienced, caused a strong and varied sensation in the Portuguese court. Some, who had always been inclined to despondence, exclaimed that the undertaking was now manifestly desperate. Such a sentiment, however, accorded ill with that determined spirit of energy and perseverance which prevailed in the Portuguese councils. It was resolved, on the contrary, to equip an armament on a much greater scale, such as might triumph over every opposition. A fleet was prepared of twenty vessels, divided into three squadrons, and the command of the whole was given to Vasco de Gama, whose enterprise and vigour seemed best fitted to meet the present exigence.

Gama sailed round Africa, and touched at Mosambique and Quiloa. He then fell in with and took a Moorish vessel bound for Mecca, richly laden, and with numerous pilgrims on board. He stained all his valour, however, by the frightful cruelty with which he treated it, setting the vessel on fire, and causing all the passengers to perish, either by the flames, or in the ocean. He sailed first to Cananor, where he met with the same good reception as his predecessors, and concluded a treaty of commerce and amity. He then proceeded direct to Calicut, and sent a message to the king, demanding satisfaction for the wrongs sustained by his predecessor. Here again he disgraced himself by his cruelty. Having taken several vessels, in which were about fifty natives, he took an hour glass, and announced to his messenger, that if, before that glass was run, he did not receive a favourable reply from the Zamorin, he would commence the war by putting all these captives to death. No answer being returned, Gama ordered all these unhappy persons to be hanged, and cutting off their hands and feet, sent them as presents to the prince. He then proceeded to batter the town, till many of the houses were destroyed, after which he sailed for Cochin. He received there from king Trimumpara the accustomed cordial reception, and concluded a treaty of commerce. The king

of Calicut then sent to offer full reparation and free trade, provided Gama would repair thither in person. This invitation the admiral unaccountably accepted, and even went by himself in a single ship. Accordingly, as might have been expected, he was suddenly attacked by thirty-four Indian vessels, and with the utmost difficulty, cutting all his cables, made out to sea, and reached a Portuguese squadron which was cruising at some distance. The Zamorin now resolving to employ force, fitted out a large fleet; but the Portuguese attacking them, took two, and obliged the rest to run in upon the shore. The Zamorin then, deeply resenting the favour shewn by the king of Cochin to his mortal enemies, raised a force of fifty thousand men, and marched to attack him. After a vigorous defence, Trimumpara was defeated, his capital taken and burned, and he himself forced to take refuge on a small island. At this crisis, however, three fleets arrived from Portugal, one of which was commanded by Alfonso de Albuquerque, destined to become so celebrated in the Indian annals.

From this era, the Portuguese transactions in India swell into the importance of general history; and, for reasons already stated, only a general outline of them can be here introduced. The king of Cochin was soon restored by his Portuguese auxiliaries to his capital and kingdom,

The Zamorin, collecting a new force, was totally defeated; and repeated disasters sunk him into a subordinate rank to his former vassal. As soon as Albuquerque obtained the chief command, his daring and comprehensive genius sought to establish the Portuguese supremacy through all the Indian Seas. His first object was to obtain a settlement on the Malabar coast, which might belong entirely and securely to Portugal. He fixed his eyes upon Goa, the seat of a great Mahometan kingdom, which had revolted from the Great Mogul, and which, by its position on an island, was rendered peculiarly susceptible of defence. Attacking it during an interregnum, and while the military force was elsewhere employed, he, to his astonishment, found himself in possession, almost without a contest, of this important city. The king, however, having recovered from his surprise, and collected his forces, laid siege to Goa with sixty thousand men; so that after a resistance of twenty days, Albuquerque considered himself fortunate in being able to evacuate it with little loss. In the course of the same year, however, having collected fifteen hundred fighting men, he again assaulted the city, and carried it after a severe contest, obliging all the Moors who did not fall in the action, to take refuge in the opposite continent. Albuquerque immediately laid here the foundation of a strong

fortress, and rendered it, what it has ever since continued, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in the East. His next enterprise was directed against Malacca, then a great commercial city, and the key of the Eastern Archipelago. On the 2d May 1511, he sailed against it with a force of one thousand four hundred men, of whom eight hundred only were Portuguese. The defence was obstinate, and Albuquerque was repulsed in the first assault; but, returning next day, he at length carried the city, taking a vast quantity of plunder and warlike stores. He then built a fort, and made it the capital of all the Portuguese settlements in this part of India. In this direction the Portuguese soon reached and occupied the Molucca and Banda Islands, whence they drew the clove and nutmeg, the most coveted of all the oriental commodities. The last exploit of Albuquerque was the capture of Ormuz, the key of Persian commerce, and the pride of the East. Two abortive attempts had already been made against it. In February 1514 he arrived there with so great a force, that the king, after making all possible difficulties and objections, saw no resource but to admit the Portuguese to the military occupation of the place.

The Portuguese empire in India was now arrived at its greatest height. From the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, an extent

of twelve thousand miles of coast, all the principal emporia were in their possession. On the coast of Africa, they had Sofala, Mosambique, and Mombasa; in Arabia, Muscat; in Persia, Ormuz; in the Malabar coast, Damaun, Diu, Goa, Cochin, Coulan, and many other ports; on the coast of Coromandel, Meliapoor, St Thomas, Madras, and Masulipatam; in the eastern seas, Malacca, Macao, Timor, and the Spice Islands. For about half a century this empire continued gradually declining, through the decay of valour and patriotism in its governors, and of energy in the mother country, now become a province of Spain. Its fall was rapid, when the English and Dutch nations, now far superior in maritime activity, found their way into the Indian seas. The Portuguese were deprived of the Spice Islands, of Malacca, of Ormuz, and were supplanted in all the markets of Coromandel and Malabar. At length their power in India was reduced to a mere name; and it is rather by the forbearance of other nations, than by their own strength, that they still retain possession of Goa, and its surrounding territory.

CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PORTUGUESE MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

Zeal of the Portuguese Government.—Attempts to convert the Natives of Goa.—Salsette.—Pesqueria.—Three Missions to the Mogul.—Manrique.

THE Portuguese monarchs had always loudly proclaimed, that the diffusion of the Catholic faith, and the extension of the spiritual dominion of the Pope, was a still more favourite aim in all their conquests than even to enlarge the sphere of their own empire. Without inquiring whether their zeal went quite so far, it cannot be denied, that had the legitimacy of the means corresponded to the ardour with which the object was pursued, this claim to praise would have been very ample. As soon as any footing had been obtained in India, large bodies of missionaries belonging to the different orders hastened out, at once to devote their own exertions, and to stimulate the efforts of the civil power in the forwarding of this favourite object. It is impossible to dispute their extraordinary

displays of zeal and self-devotion; yet the choice of means was so indiscriminate, and their ideas of their own religion seem so exclusively confined to its external and often superstitious ceremonies, that we cannot but sympathize in the difficulty which they themselves so often mourn over, of distinguishing between itself and that of the nations whom they came to convert.

The missionaries had not long arrived on the coast of Malabar, ere they discovered that more serious obstacles opposed their progress here than they had encountered in any other part of the globe. The chief of these consisted in the paramount power of the Brahmins, of whom they found two descriptions, rivalling each other in their unbounded influence over the minds of the people. One lived in cities, mixed with men, and enjoyed such influence, that nothing was done either by prince or people, nor any undertaking of importance begun, till they had first "consulted their demons." The other description were the hermits or Jogues, who went about begging, lived in deserts and caves, or on the tops of trees. Besides the high influence of this priesthood, the pride and insolence of the Nairs or military class, who would not look at, or speak to any of inferior rank, and had attendants calling out before them that all might go aside, appeared little compatible with any sentiments of Christian humility. The

people besides insisted that the outward forms of the two religions were so strikingly similar, as to leave no adequate motive for making a change. This mimicry of the Catholic ceremonies the Fathers consider as the most profound of all the arts, by which the Devil sought to arrest the progress of Christianity. It was in fact so striking, that almost all the inexperienced missionaries fell into the snare, and declared themselves unable to perceive any distinction. The missionaries, however, omitted no means of overcoming these difficulties. They wrote sentences on scraps of paper, which they distributed through the people, representing them as cures for every kind of disease. Whenever any article was lost, they got it recommended to the cross, to the efficacy of which they imputed its restoration. They even scrupled not to claim the merit of recovering some holy cows lost by a Gentoo king, and of restoring to him these objects of his idolatrous veneration. An image of the Virgin, richly embellished with jewels, proved of much efficacy. They were even delighted to see a Jogue or fakir of eighty years old, who came in from the woods, so horrid, black and sunburnt, that he appeared scarcely human; yet on being shewn this image of our Lady, was struck with such delight and admiration, that he solicited instant admission into the pale of the church. The great ob-

ject was to allure as many as possible into baptism, after which they could be boasted of as converts. For this purpose, the ceremony was performed with the most imposing possible pomp. The church was adorned with rich cloths, flowers, and branches of trees, every one bringing from his house and garden whatever could serve to adorn it; while, to heighten the solemnity, it was performed at once upon a great number. By these means they at length succeeded in making a few converts; but the result was such as deeply to discourage all hopes of further success. The moment a man became a Christian, he was excluded from all civil privileges, and from all the charities and relations of social life. His parents and nearest connexions would neither see nor speak to him, nor would give a cup of cold water to save him from perishing. A boy of twelve years having been converted, his mother took him out into the fields, where she contrived to bury him alive, covering him up in such a manner as to make it impossible to rise. Fortunately some Portuguese happening to pass immediately after, heard his cries, dug him out, and carried him back to Goa.

A brilliant vista appeared to open to the missionaries, in consequence of their effecting the conversion of a young princess, only daughter to the king of Goa. This success was triumphantly

announced to the governor, who, however, instead of receiving it with the expected joy, was a good deal perplexed by the intelligence, being much afraid that it would involve him in an open rupture with the royal family. He judged it prudent, therefore, to communicate to her parents the tidings of her conversion. Never was there such a scene of horror and dismay as followed this communication. The queen instantly raised a shriek, which echoed to the remotest extremities of the palace; and all her women crowding to inquire the cause, the royal mansion became one scene of tears and lamentations. The subject of this woe being sent for, was implored in the most pathetic terms to renounce her fatal design, her parents declaring, that though she was their only hope and delight, they would a thousand times rather see her lying dead at their feet. The young lady, however, remained immoveable in her purpose, and apprehensive of force, took to flight, and ran full speed to the Portuguese church, where she was received, and lodged in the house of a lady of distinction.

Salsette, a large and populous island in the vicinity of Goa, was considered by the missionaries as the main stronghold of idolatry. Being governed by Bramins, it presented a still more unbroken front of resistance than any other. Here too their only gleam of success was among the

young ladies. The daughter of one of the ruling Bramins ran off from her parents and joined their communion. The distracted father raised an action against the missionaries in the civil courts, insisting that she had been impelled to this step only by the most nefarious means of deceit and intimidation. The cause was given against them by Portuguese Judges; but the circumstance tended still more to increase the odium under which the nation laboured. At length one of the Fathers having received a beating, on his refusal to pay the customary dues at passing a ferry, the indignation of the whole body was raised to the highest pitch. They represented to the government the absolute necessity of some strong measures, which might either incline the Salsetines to receive the faith, or at least might punish them well for rejecting it. At their urgent request, an armament was suddenly equipped, which landed when least expected, and carrying all before them, destroyed 1200 temples with all their images. The Christians, it is said, now lifted up their heads, and counted a greater number of converts. They were soon astonished, however, to find themselves regarded with the most rooted and deadly hatred, and the Salsetines become the warm allies of every power that raised its standard against the Portuguese. In the course of some wars in which that nation was

involved with the neighbouring states, they took repeated occasions to rebuild their own temples, and raze to the ground those of the Catholics. The missionaries, finding that the *mild* measures hitherto pursued had failed of success, called loudly for something on a greater scale, and conducted in a more sweeping manner. Their entreaties at length prevailed; a new expedition was fitted out, which landed as before, and not only destroyed the temples, but set fire to the cities, villages, and all the habitations, and in a few hours reduced the whole island to ashes. The affrighted inhabitants fled almost naked from their houses, and sought shelter on the shore of the neighbouring continent; and this fair scene of culture and crowded population, was converted at once into a smoking desert. Father Berno followed the troops, wielding a huge club, with which he beat down all the idols, and brayed them in pieces. The dismayed and humbled inhabitants sent to implore peace and permission to rebuild their ruined habitations; which was granted, on condition that they should not erect along with them any edifice destined to an idolatrous purpose. They returned; and Salsette began gradually to resume its former aspect. With surprise, however, the missionaries found themselves regarded with ever-increasing execration. They complain bitterly, that all the blame should

be imputed to them; yet admit that the governors would infallibly have adopted lenient measures, but for their earnest and constant exhortations. At last, however, news arrived from Spain, that their deeds, misrepresented as they allege, had struck with horror even Philip II. and the Spanish Inquisition; and that an order was coming out to allow the Indians the free exercise of their religion. Happily, as they conceive, Father Pacheco happening to be on a mission to Europe, persuaded the king to modify this order, and to leave it to the discretion of the governor to follow the course which circumstances might dictate. The Fathers then persuaded the governor that there was no occasion to make any change in the present system, under which Salsette was maintained in a state of perfect tranquillity. In fact, the Salsetines no longer exhibited the same daring and rebellious front; their manners were become mild and submissive; and they shewed to the missionaries all that respectful courtesy of which they were ambitious. The latter were therefore convinced, that their gentle behaviour had at length produced fully its natural effect; and they determined to reward the docility of the people by founding at their capital a splendid church, which might at once dazzle their eyes, and remove all remaining obstacles to conversion. Five heads of the

mission therefore set out for the town, and having repaired to the appointed spot, began making preparations for the ceremony. While they were thus busied, a Bramin sprung out into the street, and called aloud to the people, "That the time "was come to avenge their gods." Small and great flew to arms. They began with blocking up all the passes by which the missionaries had come, or could return. While the Fathers then were wondering at the delay of the inhabitants in coming to pay them the usual compliments, they heard, echoing on all sides, the cries of "*Kill! kill!*" They saw at once that all resistance was vain, and laid open their breasts for the blow. Instantly a thousand darts were in the hearts of the unfortunate victims; the earth streamed with their blood; and the infuriate Indians heaped on their lifeless bodies all the indignities which they had so often seen inflicted by them on their prostrate deities. Pacheco alone was reserved for some extraordinary punishment, and being set up as a mark, was covered with arrows, till he no longer retained any trace of the human form. Vengeance being at length satiated, the Indians seem to have stood aghast at their own audacity, and allowed, without resistance, the mangled remains of their victims to be carried away and interred. When the news of this dreadful tragedy arrived at Goa, the assembled Friars

were affected, first with grief, and then professedly with joy, on account of this glorious martyrdom of their brethren. This did not prevent them from joining in a loud cry for vengeance. But the viceroy was a prudent man; and seeing from this fearful example the state of desperation to which the minds of the natives were worked up, positively refused to commit his conduct any longer to such guidance. He merely abridged the guilty town of some trifling privileges, and withdrew all further restraint on the religion of the natives. It is said, that after this time more conversions were effected than before, which was probably owing to this very toleration, though the Fathers impute it to the soil being watered by the blood of these holy martyrs.

Another great theatre of missionary labours was on the coast of Pesqueria, between Narsinga and Bisnagar, to which Father Criminal devoted his labours. The Portuguese had here erected a fort in the neighbourhood of a great idol temple, the ceremonies of which, it is said, afforded a continual subject of jesting and laughter to the soldiers, who, it casually transpires, did not always confine their merriment to *words*. These pleasantries appeared to the natives so little amusing, that they sent round all their neighbours, and engaged them in a confederacy for the utter extermination of the Portuguese. They accordingly

collected a force, which the latter being quite unable to withstand, fled precipitately to their ship. The worthy father insisting to be the last to embark, was overtaken, and fell covered with arrows. The Indians then proceeded to root out several other settlements, and put the missionaries to death. The open war thus levied, appeared to call upon the viceroy for his vigorous interposition. He landed in great force, seized the capital, and obliged the people to fly into the mountains. In process of time, however, the invading force was worn down by the diseases of the climate, and the desultory attacks of the natives, and the services of the remainder being wanted at Goa, the viceroy was fain to conclude a treaty for evacuating the country, on condition of the payment of a certain tribute, and of permission to preach Christianity. This last article, however, was very poorly observed; the missionaries were subjected to many hardships and dangers, and the church, though allowed to remain, was used for all profane and secular purposes.

A much more brilliant prospect appeared to open, when, in 1568, the friars were invited to repair to Delhi by Akbar, the successor of Aurengzebe, and the most illustrious and accomplished monarch of the Mogul dynasty. That great prince, active in collecting every species of

information, had heard of a Christian priest in Bengal, and anxious to learn the nature of this new doctrine, sent for him to his capital. He received him in the politest manner, expressed a wish to learn Portuguese, and on hearing the great establishment of his countrymen at Goa, resolved to have recourse to the fountain-head. He wrote, therefore, a letter full of courtesy, requesting that fathers should be sent with all the books of the law and the gospel, of which he was anxious to obtain a knowledge, and assuring them of the most honourable reception. A consultation was hereupon held by the prelates of the Indian church. The Mogul bore in the East rather the fame of conquest, cruelty, and barbarous pomp, than of any quality which could give encouragement to such a mission. Notwithstanding this, it appeared discreditable to decline so brilliant an opening, which, if completely successful, would shake the impious faith of Mahomet throughout all Asia. Three fathers therefore, Rodolpho Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrate, and Francisco Enriques, were fixed upon to be employed upon this mission.

On the 3d December 1599, the missionaries set sail from Damaun for Surat, a great city, and the capital of Guzerat, though it had not yet reached the same grandeur as after it became the emporium of the English and Dutch. They found it

crowded with Banians, whose usages they had an opportunity of observing. These persons, it is observed, will eat nothing that has life, and will not kill or see killed any living thing. Whatever light they use, is enclosed in glass, lest any butterfly or mosquito should be attracted by it, and lose its life. Extensive hospitals for lame and sick birds are maintained and richly endowed. A Portuguese captain wishing to extract money, collected a number of dogs, and published his resolution to drown them; whereupon the devout persons of the city hastened to offer large sums as their ransom. Amid all this tenderness for the brute creation, they have no compassion for the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, and have not a single hospital for the human sick. They are besides enormous usurers, with no truth in their contracts; and in falsifying money and goods, may claim the pre-eminence even over the Chinese.

On the 15th January, the mission set out from Surat, and on the following day passed the Tapy (Tuptee), a river much celebrated in the fables of the Gentoos. It is called by them the child of the sun, who dressing himself one day to dazzle the world by his brightness, let fall a drop of sweat, which, mixing with the waters of the river, made them more beautiful and crystalline. To the Fathers they appeared, on the contrary, so

thick and muddy, as to afford that bright planet little credit in his offspring; they thought a large lump of clay would have been a more appropriate parent.

On the 16th they met the Captain at Surat, with a body of horse, and were well received; but some of his train seeing two of the Fathers standing by themselves, drew their swords, and were upon the point of running them through the body; till a Portuguese cavalier leapt off his horse, and presented a naked sword to one of their breasts. The Captain caused them to be reprimanded and punished; but the Fathers determined thenceforth to adhere closer to the main body. They proceeded along a large plain covered with wild palms, and other Indian trees, and passing through Vacari, Nabugan, and Tava, came to Timay. Here they were struck with the view of a pyramid, twenty palms high, erected in memory of a lady who had burned herself on the tomb of her husband. It was surrounded by a number of smaller pyramids, raised by devotees who wished to recommend themselves to her holy protection. Similar monuments of various forms and sizes were seen in almost every town. Coming next in view of the river Tapy, they saw a long line of little fires floating on the water. Inquiring the cause, they were told that the Banians

were now purifying themselves from the sins of the preceding year, particularly that of having inadvertently caused the death of any fly or insect. To expiate this guilt they formed, with gourds or large leaves, a species of lamp, which being fastened to their head, remained floating above the surface, while the whole body remained immersed beneath, till it was almost frozen to death. The travellers then left the river, and proceeded through a beautiful valley, covered with mango trees in flower. They then came to Sultanpoor, a city described as equal to Surat. It was all in a blaze, in consequence of the festival which the Moors were celebrating in memory of the circumcision of Isaac. The gardens, where Mahometans of distinction inter their dead, were all brilliantly illuminated, and fires were kindled on the surrounding mountains. On their departure from this city, they attracted a large train of attendants, among whom the strangeness of their aspect gave rise to an unbounded mirth, which was testified in the most loud and unqualified manner. The gravity of their aspect and rebuke, however, gradually released them, it is said, from this incommodious escort. After crossing the great river Xarabadda (Nerbuddah), they came to Mandaon, which must, it is said, have been one of the greatest cities in the world, from the im-

mense ruins which covered its site, and from its walls, which were sixteen leagues in circumference.

On the 5th of February they arrived at a city called Uzen (Oujein). Here they saw the Devil performing the funeral of a Banian. The body was placed in a high car, containing five seats covered with silk cushions; a number of boys swept the streets before them, while others burnt incense; a crowd of women behind were singing the praises of the deceased. On the 8th of February they passed near Sanmarean, through a rugged country, rendered very dangerous by the numerous robbers that infested it. The same day they met a large cafila, with thirty camels, on the way to Mecca, to bring back the step-mother and nurse of the Mogul, who had been there on pilgrimage. Some of them were also carrying a present of apples and pears to one of the kings of the Decan. These fruits, from their rarity, are held in the highest value by the natives of this country, and even, from long disuse, by European residents. As an instance, it is mentioned, that the Mogul having presented to the Viceroy of Goa a small box of pippins, one of them was sent by the latter to the Commandant in Chief at Salsette, who prized it so highly, that he cut the apple into four parts, kept one for himself, and placing the other three upon silver

plates, sent them to the principal persons in the fortress. The Fathers hence take occasion to point out the immense sacrifices which they are obliged to make in the cause of religion, and under which nothing, they say, except the hopes of paradise, could possibly console them.

After leaving Sanmarean, the mission proceeded through vast plains, covered with woods and gardens, to Serampoor, Pimplia, and Surange (Serong). They met several bands of pilgrims coming from the Ganges, shaven all over, it being necessary, in order to obtain the benefit of that holy ablution, to go in without a hair on any part of the body. On the 19th they met a royal captain, with a large body of troops mounted on horses, elephants, camels, and dromedaries. He received them with "especial kindness," and told them that the king expected them with the greatest anxiety, that he was counting the hours, and measuring every stage. At Narwar, Father Monserrate fell sick, but it was thought advisable to leave him behind, rather than to delay. At this place they saw the Gentoos celebrating the festival of the areca-tree, the nut of which is so much used in Indostan. A hole is made in the ground, into which the Bramin throws money, arecas, flowers, and sandal-wood, whilst the devotees hoist an areca tree, calling aloud *Olli, olli.* They offer this tree to their "Cybele, the mother

" of all the gods," then sit down under its shade, continuing to cry *Olli, olli.* To this tree numerous presents are offered, candles lighted, and adorations paid as to a divine thing. When this divinity has been sufficiently adored, it is reduced to ashes; a new tree is hoisted and carried through the city, amid the songs and acclamations of the women and children.

The Fathers having left Narwar, arrived on the 28th of February at Fatepur, near Agra, where the Mogul then resided. They were instantly ushered into the presence of the monarch, whom they found about fifty years old, white like an European, and " of sagacious intellect." He received them with singular affability, supplied them with handsome lodgings, offered them money, and was much edified by their refusing it. When an image of the crucifixion was presented to him, he adored it in three modes; first, bowing low like the Mahometans, then kneeling like the Christians, and, lastly, prostrating himself like the Gentoos; adding, that God ought to be worshipped according to the custom of all nations. But his chief emotion was excited on viewing the finely painted and ornamented image of the Virgin. He gazed on it long in admiration, and declared that she appeared indeed the Queen of Heaven seated on her throne. They finally presented him with a Bible, in four languages, and

bound in seven volumes, which he kissed respectfully, and placed on his head, which is considered the highest possible mark of respect.

As soon as the missionaries arrived, they inquired for the Moors to dispute with; at which challenge a band of Mollahs were not long of making their appearance. A warm controversy was then maintained, at the end of which each party considered its own triumph as quite undisputed. The king said he was very well pleased with the Christian religion, though there were some of its mysteries which appeared to him incomprehensible. He listened, however, to several other debates and explanations, and always treated the missionaries with the utmost courtesy. After some residence, however, they began to call for a definitive answer to their demand, that he should embrace Christianity, and make it the established religion in his dominions. The king made the best excuse he could contrive, still fed them with hopes, and only from time to time requested delay. One of the courtiers, however, allowed it to transpire, that the monarch had not the remotest idea of making any change in his own religion or that of his states; that his sole aim was curiosity and entertainment; that he thought it amusing and conducive to his dignity to have all sorts of people about him, especially those in whom there was any thing strange and singular. The courtesy,

however, with which he continued to treat them, and the delight which he always expressed in contemplating the Virgin, still kept alive a ray of hope. At length he sent to inform them, that an opportunity had now offered of fully establishing the superior claims of the Catholic faith; that a great Mahometan doctor was ready to leap into a furnace with the Alcoran in his hand; and that, considering the firm confidence they felt in their own system, they would of course have no objection to accompany him with the Bible; when the comparative merit of the two religions would be established in a manner admitting of no dispute. The missionaries paused at this proposition. They represented, that this could by no means be considered a regular mode of deciding a religious controversy; that they had already held long arguments with the Mollahs, and were ready to maintain one still more formally, holding out some expectation, if that should fail, of having recourse to the fiery trial propounded. The debate was accordingly held, when the arguments of the missionaries, though they produced no conviction in the opposite party, appeared to themselves so triumphant, as fully to acquit them from such a perilous test. The king, however, continued to shew an anxious wish for its employment. He at length besought that they would give a formal promise, upon the faith of which he would cause

the Mollah to leap in first, in order to see how he would extricate himself, hinting that he would not at all regret to see him fall a sacrifice to his presumption. The Fathers, however, positively declined committing themselves, in any shape, upon such a proceeding.

From this era, the missionaries do not seem to have felt themselves much at ease in the Mogul court. The emperor having satisfied his curiosity, and being disappointed of the proposed exhibition, sent for them more rarely; and they were often a month without seeing him at all. He was troubled by news of rebellions in Cabul and Bengal, which they hoped were judgments calculated to bring him to a sense of his duty; but, on the contrary, they distracted entirely his attention, and made him wholly forget them. Giving up, therefore, all hopes of success, they solicited, and obtained permission to return to Goa. They reached it in May 1583.

In 1591, the Mogul was again seized with a desire to see the missionaries, and sent a new application to Goa. Another embassy was accordingly sent, which went through nearly the same career as their predecessors. They were well received, and amused, for some time, with delusive hopes. So long, indeed, as they were willing to swell the pomp of his court, and to amuse him by the display of relics and images, he

appeared glad to have them about him. But as soon as they began to push for something more serious, they found that there was as little as ever of any serious intention of acceding to their wishes. After a short stay, therefore, they returned to Goa.

Although the Mogul would never gratify the Fathers to the extent of their wishes, he seems never to have lost the inclination for having them near his person. In 1595, a new letter was received at Goa, with many offers and promises. Another mission was accordingly prepared, which, proceeding to visit the emperor at Lahore, went over a different ground from their predecessors. They proceeded first to Damaun, and thence to Cambaya, where they were obliged to wait for some time till they should be joined by a cafila, the protection afforded by which was necessary for enabling them to cross the Great Desert, which intervenes between this country and the north-western provinces. Cambaya was held at the time by a son of the Mogul, with 25,000 cavalry and 400 elephants. The friars were much pleased with the piety of the people, 20,000 of whom were setting out on a pilgrimage to the Ganges; also with their charity, having seen 25,000 pardaos distributed in one day. Unfortunately it was given almost wholly to support the hospital for birds, while the human sick were left in the

utmost destitution. They observed also the devotees, whom they call *verteas*, who had all their hair rooted out except a tuft on the crown of the head. They subsist solely on alms. They have small brushes with which they sweep the ground before them, and the seat on which they are to sit, lest any living insect should be inadvertently crushed. With the same view they keep the mouth covered with a piece of cloth fastened to the ears, lest any of those flying creatures should find admission.

From Cambay to Lahore is two hundred and twenty leagues, consisting of a vast desert of moving sand, beneath whose waves the unfortunate traveller is often buried. To obviate its dangers, it is necessary to form large cafilas. The one which our travellers accompanied was composed of four hundred camels, one hundred waggons, many persons mounted on horses, while multitudes of the poor followed on foot. Every morning the captain of the cafila blew a trumpet three times; the first was the signal to strike their tents; the second to load their camels; the third to set out. At ten leagues from Lahore they came to a beautiful river of fresh water, and proceeding along its banks reached the capital. They found it a large city, delightfully situated, and surrounded by the tents of numerous merchants. The emperor had his residence in an island in

the river, where a large assemblage of people came every morning to see him. He gave them the accustomed cordial reception, and offered them the choice of any habitation they might find most agreeable. He shewed them the image of the Virgin presented by the first mission, which he had carefully treasured up; and, on receiving a still more splendid one, gazed on it with the most intense and eager delight. He expressed a wish to visit their chapel, in the view of which the Fathers collected from all quarters every kind of ornament, borrowing even from the Gentoos whatever could tend to render the scene more brilliant. A spectacle was thus produced which quite dazzled the eye of the monarch; and after contemplating the beauty of the images and relics, he would exclaim, that no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity. He shewed, besides, no partiality to the Mahometans; and when in straits for money, would even plunder the mosques to equip his cavalry. Yet there remained in the breast of the monarch a strong hold of idolatry, on which they could never make any impression. Not only did he adore the sun, and make long prayers to it four times a day; he also held himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own

divinity. He shewed himself every morning at a window, in front of which multitudes came and prostrated themselves; while women brought their sick infants for his benediction, and offered presents on their recovery. The missionaries, however, being always courteously treated, still cherished a gleam of hope. They agreed, therefore, to accompany the monarch into Casimir (Cachemire), and had an opportunity of viewing that celebrated garden of India. They describe it as encircled with lofty *sierras* covered for most of the year with snow, while the interior is a plain full of plantains, green trees, and beautiful rivers. On their return to Lahore, the king set out for the Decan war, when the missionaries took the opportunity of accompanying him; and seeing no prospect of any conversion, rejoined their brethren at Goa.

About 1612, Sebastian Manrique, with three other friars of the order of St Augustin, were sent to supply the missions in the kingdom of Bengal. Manrique, in the course of thirteen years, visited not only this, but many other countries of India, of some of which few other accounts are extant.

The party landed at Angelim (Ingelly), at the mouth of the western branch of the Ganges, on which Calcutta has since been built. They with the captain were immediately introduced to Mus-

undulim, the King or Nabob. After the first compliments, Musundulim called upon the captain to deliver up all his keys, a requisition too serious to be rashly acquiesced in. The captain therefore replied, that the keys were numerous, and the ship being crowded with soldiers, could not be conveniently inspected by his majesty. Musundulim hereupon gave immediate orders, that the captain and one of the friars should have their heads cut off; and Manrique happening to stand nearest to him, was pitched upon for undergoing that operation. Instantly they had their hands tied behind them, and were hurried to prison; the guards contriving by the way to strip them of the best part of their clothes. The friar, with all his boasted fortitude, acknowledges that he was much "perplexed and confused," and began to prepare the captain and himself to meet the approach of the last hour. The captain laughed, and said that all this was done merely to frighten them. Manrique, however, could scarcely regain his composure, especially when the guards rushed in with naked scimitars, and made furious demonstrations of instantly severing the head from the body. With these they continued, he says, to amuse them till four in the morning, when a trumpet sounded, and a cry was raised, *melao, melao,* which signifies *friendship.* The guards then presented them with

a leaf of betel, and led them to the Subah, where they found a handsome entertainment provided. Doolis or palanquin men now appeared, to convey them to the town, which was distant three leagues, but appeared to them three thousand; for the ground being alluvial, and in many parts inundated, they were often up to the middle in mud and water, and it was late at night before they could be dragged through; when the first thing to be done was to plunge themselves in a pond of water, to clear off the accumulated coat of mire with which they were bedaubed. They were then well received, and in a few days obtained permission to proceed to Ugulim (Hoogly). Here he takes occasion to mention the first establishment of the Portuguese in Bengal, under the reign of the emperor Akbar. The captains who first came to dispose of their cargoes, raised mere sheds of bamboo, for their temporary residence. The emperor hearing of this new people, transmitted orders to the governor to send a specimen of them up to his court. In consequence of the distance between Agra and Hoogly, this message did not arrive till the Portuguese were gone for that year, at which the emperor in a letter expressed such chagrin, that the governor fell ill and died in consequence. The utmost diligence was therefore employed next year to gratify the emperor; and a Portuguese captain of the name

of Tavarez went up to Agra. He was treated by Akbar with the utmost favour, and permission given to pitch upon any spot near Hoogly that he chose for the erection of a town, with full liberty of building churches, and preaching the gospel. They soon after penetrated to Piple, in Orissa, and even to Daack (Dacca), then the capital of Bengal, and the great emporium of its commerce. It was frequented by people of every nation, and was supposed to contain upwards of two hundred thousand souls. Here they had a small but neat convent, where "they celebrated the divine wor-"ship in the midst of that most vast paganism." The Mahometan doctors, however, endeavoured to alarm the people, warning them of the judgments of Heaven which must fall upon their heads for permitting the residence of these Kaffres, who ate pork and drank wine out of pure hatred to Mahomet. The principal wife of the nabob was seriously moved by these predictions; but as soon as the case came before Akbar, he sent the strictest orders that the Portuguese should not be molested in any shape. He even offered them an assignment of revenue on land; but the Portuguese had observed that such gifts were always made in the interested hope of inducing a greater number of merchants to resort to the place, and when this expectation failed, a series of studied insults were thrown upon them, till they were at length driven

to abandon the country and all their appointments.

Manrique describes the great fertility of Bengal, particularly of the banks of the Ganges; its magnificent fabrics of cotton, exported to all the countries of the East. He laments, however, the oppression suffered from their Mogul rulers, who, on any failure as to payment of revenue, seize not only their property, but their wives and children. Notwithstanding this, the aversion of the Bengalese to part with money is so excessive, that they make it a rule never to pay till they have undergone a vigorous application of the whip; and if their wives learn that money has been given without this requisite preliminary, they put them upon short allowance for some days. In other respects, the people are of a mean and slavish spirit, more inclined to serve than to be served. They can only be rendered useful by being roughly treated; and have a proverb among themselves, "He who gives blows is a master; he who gives "none is a dog." They eat no animal food, except some species of game, and avoid even any vegetable that has a red colour. Their favourite dish is Kachari, a mixture of rice and lentils, well enriched, however, with butter. The ancient religion is entirely Gentoo, though since the Mogul invasion, some have chosen the Alcoran "as an "easier way to hell." There are mary varieties in

the original faith; but all are agreed in the worship of the Ganges, and the cow. He who has the happiness of living on the banks of that sacred river, makes it his first business in the morning to march down to its banks, holding in his right hand some rice straws, and in his left a small copper vessel. The straws are then successively dropped, a holy sentence being repeated at each; after which the vessel is repeatedly filled with water and thrown up to heaven. The third part of the exhibition consisted in placing the hands above the head, and making long and low bows, first to the Ganges, and then to the rising sun. He then hastens home, and completes his sanctification by kissing the least honourable part of the cow, placing at the same time on the crown of his head some of its excrement. They have, besides, many splendid pagodas; all, however, surpassed by that of Jagarnaut, of whom he relates, that being principal cook in heaven, the dinner was one day so ill dressed, as impelled the Deity to throw him down to the earth with such violence that his leg was broken by the fall. He mentions the immense multitude of both sexes who came from all parts of Indostan, many of them having their legs covered with iron chains. Besides the common mode of suicide by throwing themselves under the wheels of the chariot, he mentions others, who, laid down on

stakes, pierce themselves with iron hooks, so as gradually, while the car passes, to bleed to death. Then, he doubts not, they went direct to receive the laurels which the devil bestows on this species of martyrdom. He describes also the island of Sagur, an ancient seat of the darkest Indian superstition. It was now almost uninhabited, and its shrines in ruins; yet crowds still resorted thither, and were persuaded by the enemy of the human race to devote their lives to him. This sacrifice they accomplished, by selecting a part of the coast peculiarly abounding in crocodiles, alligators, and other monsters of the deep, by whom, throwing themselves into the sea, they had the felicity of being devoured. When they failed, however, and were obliged to come out alive, they filled the place with loud lamentations over the enormity of their sins, which had caused the Gods to consider their lives not worthy of acceptance. He concludes by relating the sacrifice of the Indian wives, when the victim comes to the stake, he observes, covered with diamonds, flowers, and perfumes, accompanied by all her relations, dressed as for a bridal. While the fatal ceremony is performing, music plays, and songs are sung, extolling the happiness she will enjoy, on being introduced to her husband in the other world. "Thus," says he, "does the

" Prince of Darkness carry off those unfortunate " souls to the place of eternal punishment."

From Bengal, Manrique was instructed to proceed to Arracan, the seat of a great Asiatic monarchy, and where the Catholics had established a mission. He sailed by Chittagong to the port of Dianga, whence circumstances obliged him to proceed by land over a range of very high mountains, which separate Arracan from Indostan and Ava. They were accompanied with a large body of Moors carrying prisoners to Arracan. They had two elephants, on one of which they placed the baggage, and on the other a house, well accommodated with mats and carpets, enclosed with oil-cloth, and having windows in the sides. In this they hoped to travel without feeling any inconvenience from the rains, which the season gave them reason to expect. The rain, however, was soon accompanied by a wind so furious, that this land ship was tossed about as in a tempest. At length a furious blast blew off the top, and tore it to pieces; leaving the tenants within exposed to all the fury of the elements. They arrived accordingly at the nearest village, with not only their persons, but their baggage, completely drenched. Finding a few huts, however, they contrived to dry them tolerably, and then began to ascend a very steep mountain, over which they

mounted drenched with rain, starving with cold, and with the roar of tygers, buffaloes, and other wild animals, echoing on every side. They supported themselves, however, with the hope of finding at the foot of it fire and shelter; but when they reached this desired spot, no covering was to be found but what a few wild trees afforded. They were wet over and over, and almost dead with cold, while the rain rendered it impossible to kindle a fire. As morning dawned, they descried a mountain much steeper than the former, and the loftiest that Manrique ever beheld before or since; while between them and it rolled a torrent, now swelled to a great and rapid river, which they had no means of crossing. With great labour they prepared a raft, with oars, which they fastened by a rope to the banks; but their most laborious exertions during three hours were insufficient to push it across. They resigned themselves to wait on the banks the cessation of the tempest, only praying to God "that he would "not assign them a tomb in the bellies of brute "beasts." The rain, however, penetrating through all their repositories, spoiled the provisions, which they were obliged to throw into the river, and to subsist on toasted rice which the natives had brought with them. During two days there was no intermission, and they were beginning to prepare for their last hour, when one evening a few

stars were descried through the clouds. This was hailed as the termination of the rain, which in fact soon ceased; and by throwing powder on some of the wood that was least thoroughly soaked, they got a fire kindled, which warmed and dried them. Next day the torrent was so far abated, that the raft conveyed them to the opposite side. They now began the laborious task of ascending the mountain, but were soon obliged to dismount from their elephants, and to scramble up on their hands and knees. About nightfall they reached the summit, but found it impossible to pass the night, there being no wood to kindle a fire, and respiration difficult, so that they were obliged to descend two or three miles for a resting place. They came next to a lower range, which did not however afford an easier passage. The road lay here over a most lofty precipice, overhanging a great and rapid river; and it was so narrow, that they were obliged to hold by the hands and not to look down, otherwise they would immediately have lost their sight and fallen down. At length they reached Peroem, where they embarked, and after a stormy passage arrived first at Orvietan, and then at Arracan.

Arracan, the capital of what Manrique calls the monarchy of the Mogas, is situated in a fine plain of about fifteen leagues in circuit, and surrounded by a range of mountains so lofty and rude,

that if the passes were duly fortified the place would be impregnable. The city is watered by a great river, which, dividing into various branches, enables vessels to sail almost through every street; and it falls into the sea by two mouths with great impetuosity. The houses, not excepting those of the first grandees, and even the royal palace, are built of bamboos, fastened, not with nails, but with a species of thin reeds imported from Bengal, the roof being framed with interwoven palm branches. These houses will last for twelve or fifteen years. Those of the king and great men are distinguished by sculpture and mouldings, gilt or variously coloured. The palace in particular is distinguished by gilded columns of such immense magnitude, as to make it quite astonishing that they should be composed of a single tree. It contains also a hall covered all over with the purest gold, the roof being divided into a hundred compartments, each similar in form to an African calabash. But the chief treasure of this palace consists, he says, in the precious and celebrated Chanequas of Tangut, the subject of so many wars, and so much effusion of Barbaric blood. These three valued gems are fast locked in a golden box, placed in the middle of the hall; which being opened, there appears a coffer, also of gold, covered with the finest workmanship, diamonds, rubies, and pearls.

This being also opened, there appears a white satin cloth bordered with gold. Our author declares, though he had seen the splendour of the greatest eastern courts, he never was so dazzled as when the cloth was unfolded, and the chanequas burst forth in all their glory, and that his eye could scarcely endure their lustre. These chanequas were rubies of an oval form, the base of which might be about the size of a small cock's neck. The palace contained also many splendid statues of idols, particularly seven of the human size, not solid, but an inch thick; and four brazen giants, with clubs in their hands, sixteen palms in height.

While Manrique remained at Arracan, he was witness to a most splendid ceremony, called Sansaporau, or the feast of the dead, performed in honour of Quien Poragri, called here the "God of Gods," but who ought rather, he thinks, to be called the "Devil of "Devils." The first days formed a plenary and general jubilee, and the works of charity performed, in giving alms, paying debts, and keeping open table, were such as he never saw amongst Christians; and he felt inclined to lament, that so many good works should be of no avail through unbelief. His views changed, however, on the eighth day, or grand procession of Poragri. The idol was drawn in a car composed of four stages,

on the highest of which, on a platform ascended by twelve steps, stood Poragri, eleven palms high, in silver, with a train of gold and gems, and trampling under foot a bronze serpent covered with green scales. It was followed by a number of smaller cars, with their appropriate escort; ninety-six priests stood in the principal car, three thousand walked in procession on both sides, and an innumerable multitude followed, causing the air to echo with shouts and acclamations. The streets through which they passed were variously adorned with green boughs, flowers, and cloths of various colours. Some met death by throwing themselves under the wheels of the chariot; others were mounted upon scaffolds, where they pierced themselves with various wounds, and receiving their blood into vessels that stood by them, threw it upon the chariot as it passed; when the multitude rushed with such eagerness to dip their handkerchiefs in this sacred blood, that an armed force was necessary to prevent them from squeezing each other to death. When the procession was over, all the self-devoted victims were carried in a triumphal car to an appointed place, where they were placed on a pile of odoriferous woods, and reduced to ashes; while the attendant devotees threw precious rings, bracelets of gold and silver, and fine embroidered cloths, into the pile.

Before leaving Arracan, Manrique was witness to a scene of still more dismal superstition. A belief prevailed that an emperor of Arracan, within one, or at most two years after his coronation, would be overtaken by death. To escape this fate, the present monarch had delayed the coronation for nearly nine years; but by the law of the country, if the delay was farther prolonged, he forfeited the crown. In this dilemma he applied to a great Mahometan doctor, who having twice visited Mecca, and having, from his knowledge of plants, performed many cures that appeared miraculous, was accounted holy in a pre-eminent degree. This "reprobate, and follower of all "iniquity," replied, that he could point out a method by which the monarch would not only escape the threatened fate, but would become invisible, invincible, and would extend his dominion over the surrounding empires of Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Delhi. The remedy was to offer to the gods a sacrifice, composed of six thousand human hearts, four thousand hearts of white cows, and two thousand of pigeons. The infatuated king, like another Herod, sent troops to seize all those of his subjects who could be found either in the streets or in the fields, till the fatal number was completed. Those collected during the day were carried at night to a deep hollow between two lofty mountains, where the sacrifice was perform-

ed; the visible executioners being accompanied, our author doubts not, by numerous invisible witnesses from the world beneath. The wretched and trembling people durst not stir out of their houses, and the streets of Arracan became a desert. Emissaries were then sent to the neighbouring towns, where the inhabitants were less on their guard. The cries of the people at length rose to such a height, that an insurrection would infallibly have taken place, had it not been announced that the sacrifice prepared "for the impious altars of hell" was now complete, and that the coronation would take place within six months. This announcement seems to have dispelled at once all the fear and horror in which the nation was plunged, and to have changed it into a gay expectation of the approaching ceremony. The six months were employed without intermission throughout the whole kingdom in making preparations, and in particular a copious supply was brought of the holy waters of Sagur. As the time approached, such crowds came from all the kingdoms, states, and cities of Indostan, Ava, Siam, Sumatra, and other various islands and countries, that Arracan became, as it were, an epitome of the East. The ceremony began with the coronation of twelve kings, who were each to reign over one of the provinces subject to Arracan. On this occasion, the emperor being

seated on a splendid throne, with all his lords in attendance, the king was introduced, who, on approaching the throne, began a series of bows and prostrations, which ended with his laying himself flat on the ground, to which he rivetted his lips. In this posture he remained, till four lords came and lifted him up. On approaching a little nearer, he repeated the same series of prostrations, and so on for five times; but on being raised the fifth time, he found himself close to the imperial throne. A golden idol, three feet high, with a garland of flowers on its head, was then brought forth. The king took it in his hand, and after six prostrations, placed it on his head, then pronounced a solemn oath of allegiance to the emperor. That prince then declaring the king to be worthy that part of the imperial feet should rest on his head, placed on him the crown. The great trumpet was then thrice blown, and the whole assembly fell prostrate on the ground, upon which a curtain being drawn, hid the emperor from the view of the assembly. Eight days elapsed between the coronation of each king; which period was spent by the one last crowned in magnificent processions by land and water, and in keeping open table for all the citizens.

The coronation of the kings being completed, the crowd of strangers daily increased, and the

city assumed a more brilliant aspect. The outside of the houses was hung with cloths of cotton, silk, and embroidery; the streets were adorned with triumphal arches, and echoed with the sound of music, the beating of drums, and the discharge of artillery. The merchants took the opportunity of holding a fair, in which all that was most rare and precious in the East was profusely exhibited. On the evening before the ceremony, the whole city was filled with standards, pendants, and streamers of various colours, waving in the wind. The morning rose clear and beautiful, and was ushered in with the firing of cannon. At the appointed hour, all the kings, princes, and lords repaired to an immense hall, with a golden roof, and supported by thirty gilded pillars. Three sides were open, and the fourth hung with rich tapestry, hiding from view the large arched space in which the monarch was seated. All the grandees having taken their places, five blasts were blown with the great trumpet, and during the next half hour there was one continued roar of artillery. A profound silence followed, when the trumpet being again blown, the whole assembly fell prostrate on the ground. The curtain being then suddenly undrawn, exhibited the emperor seated on a lofty throne, and all in a blaze of gems and gold. His robe was entirely covered with pearls, and on his feet were silken sandals

loaded with diamonds. His head was merely wrapt in white cloth; but from the ears depended the two chanequas, surpassing the splendour of every other object. After some superstitious ceremonies, a bishop began a long discourse, in which he painted the virtues and perfections of the emperor in such glowing terms, that if one half had been true, he would deserve, Manrique observes, to be canonized. The sermon of "this "lying preacher" being ended, the whole assembly broke up, and proceeded in regular order and pomp till they arrived at the gate of a large court, into which they entered. Here, however, only the believers in the national faith being admitted, Manrique and the rest of the Portuguese were denied entrance. They waited for two hours, at the end of which all the artillery in the city was discharged at once with a roar so tremendous, as if the world were going to wreck. The gates were then thrown open, and the monarch issued forth, wearing on his head the imperial crown, which glittered all over with pearls, rubies, and diamonds. He then repaired to a court, where were twelve hundred elephants richly caparisoned, on which he and his lords mounted and rode in solemn procession through the city, horsemen clearing the way before them. Besides the acclamations of the multitude, the ladies of the court appeared stationed at different

points, with their faces unveiled, and covered with the richest jewels. At length he arrived at the palace, where he was received by the empress, who, according to the custom of the country, was also his eldest sister, and this long protracted festival was at length brought to a close.

From Arracan our missionary returned to Bengal, where he was shipwrecked and taken prisoner; but being liberated, he returned to Goa. He then made a voyage to Malacca, the Phillipines, Cochin-China, and Macáo. He then returned to Bengal, where he spent some time, and proceeded to Agra, and thence to Lahore. Not being able to follow him through these various peregrinations, we shall content ourselves with following his voyage from Lahore down the Indus, as being a route scarcely traversed, or at least described, by any other modern traveller.

The road from Lahore to Moultan is performed in ten days, through a country abounding in wheat, rice, vegetables, and cotton. The villages are numerous, and contain excellent inns. Moultan is a considerable city, and carries on an extensive trade, being the rendezvous of all the caravans which come from Persia, Khorassan, and other countries in the west of Asia; it is also the key of this frontier of Indostan. Here he made an arrangement for a passage

down the Indus with a merchant, called Trucidas Babara, who was sending a mercantile expedition to Tatta. In this he found no difficulty; for the natives here had a prejudice, that a Frank (European) could ensure success to any undertaking in which he engaged. To whatever place, therefore, our missionary came, the people crowded to him with their sick, whom they expected him to cure; and when he declared his total want of medical skill, they imagined that he wished to draw from them money or presents: they therefore came back soon with an offer which they thought adequate; and when he still protested his ignorance, only went and brought more, till he was quite worn out. Manrique learned that the voyage down was by no means exempt from danger, many parts of the shore being uninhabited, and infested by robbers, who, though unacquainted with fire-arms, attacked furiously with arrows and sticks hardened in the fire. The alarm of these tidings was greatly increased when he examined the defensive weapons with which the party were to be furnished, consisting of arquebuses out of all order, and powder so coarse as to be quite unserviceable. He caused, therefore, the powder to be ground finer, and fitted out some grenades and shells, which his two companions had with them, the exhibition of which amazed the city, and inspired the Indians with full con-

fidence. They sailed for eight days along fruitful and peopled banks, going on shore occasionally for refreshment or to shew their passports, and finding every where plenty of provisions. Where the river was shallow, it contained shad in such abundance, that the boatmen took it without nets or lines, by merely putting into the water an earthen vessel with a circular hole at the top. At length they reached Bacher (Bekher or Bucker), an agreeable city, surrounded with groves and gardens, and carrying on a considerable trade, though not equal to that of Moultan. After four days they came to a desert shore, where one day doubling a point, they came suddenly upon two vessels, which poured in upon them a complete shower of arrows, stones, and toasted stakes. As the Hindoo arquebuses in return produced no effect whatever, the armament must infallibly have been taken, but for the Portuguese shells; on receiving a discharge of which, the enemy, partly hurt and partly alarmed, immediately made off. One Indian, however, being killed, the crew landed, and consumed a whole day in his funeral rites, collecting a pile, perfuming it, and burning the body with a million of ceremonies, after which a million more were employed in purifying themselves, so that Manrique was completely sickened. Resuming their voyage, they sailed for three days, still through an uninhabited country, to

Seivan, after which the appearance greatly improved, and in four days they arrived at Tatta.

Manrique having brought a firman from the Mogul for the erection of a church in Tatta, was well received by the governor, and saw the foundation of the edifice laid. Being detained for a month by the rains, he had an opportunity of seeing the "good and evil" of this place. Its wealth he describes as extreme, derived from many sources. The country round is of exuberant abundance, particularly in wheat, rice, and cotton, in the manufacture of which at least two thousand looms are employed. Some silk is also produced, and a great quantity of buffalo hides, which are manufactured into a most beautiful species of leather, variegated with fringes and ornaments of silk, called leather of Sinde, and used in the East as ornaments of the tables and beds. But if its wealth was thus great, its profligacy was more than in proportion, and surpassed any thing observed in other parts of Indostan. He was particularly scandalized by a religious order, reverenced by the natives under the title of "holy "women," but to whom he chuses rather to apply another epithet, which we decline repeating. It appears, in fact, that these ladies stationed themselves in sequestered places, and whenever they saw a passenger of the other sex, whose appearance pleased them, hesitated not to make the

most unreserved advances, which it was considered a deadly sin to reject. He was above all enraged to find that they withal boasted of themselves, and were revered by others as persons who had entirely renounced the world, and devoted themselves to a life of mortification and self-denial.

As a voyage up the Indus would have been laborious and tedious, our traveller returned by land to Moultan. He travelled for seven days through a cultivated territory to a place called Marum, where they provided a quantity of water in leathern bags, as they had to pass through a desert where it was only to be had in deep wells, and always more or less salt. Seven days more were employed in passing this desert, when they came to the territory of Jeselmeere, which, though not fertile, abounded in goats, whence they were supplied with flesh and milk. The city was governed by a Hindoo prince, tributary to the Great Mogul; but the chief thing remarked by our author, and which struck him even with dismay, was the vast number of frail fair ones, who went about in large squadrons, each with an old dame at its head, and besieged the caravansaries with peculiar diligence. They were employed to dance and sing at any public entertainment, and reaped such profits from this infamous trade, that, besides paying a large revenue to government, they

were enabled to dress in the most splendid manner. From Jeselmeere the author proceeded to Moultan. He returned home through Persia by way of Kabul and Kandahar.

CHAPTER IV.

BRITISH EMBASSIES TO THE GREAT MOGUL.

Mildenhall.—Hawkins.—Roe.

AMONG the several states which arose upon the partition of the empire of Timur, none equalled in power and celebrity that established on the throne of Indostan. The sovereign, to mark his pre-eminence over others of the same race, was emphatically termed the "Great Mogul." The blaze of eastern pomp which surrounded him, the immense armies which he brought into the field, and the dread despotic sway with which he ruled over a host of tributary kingdoms, made an impression in Europe beyond what was excited by any other monarch of the age. The English, during the reign of Elizabeth, being indefatigable in exploring all the sources of commerce and wealth, it was not probable that they would neglect this, which appeared almost its fountain-head.

Under the influence of these considerations, three ships were, in 1596, fitted out, chiefly by

Sir Robert Dudley. Their intention being "to "pierce as far as China," they obtained a letter from Queen Elizabeth to "The Most High, "Serene, and Powerful Prince and Ruler of the "Great Kingdom of China, the greatest Empire "in the eastern parts of the World." This expedition, of which the most sanguine hopes were entertained, experienced a fate the most calamitous. Not only did neither ships nor men ever return to England, but no distinct account could ever be obtained of the manner in which they had perished. Purchas could only procure an imperfect notice in a letter from the captain-general of New Andalusia, which he lays before his readers; only warning them to pay no regard to the terms of robbery and piracy, "being the "words of a Spaniard." It begins with stating, that three English ships, "bound for the India "Orientall," had taken three Portuguese vessels from Goa, laden with many jewels and other valuable property, belonging to the king. With regard to the further proceedings and fate of the squadron, we have only the following short words: "By sicknes of the Englishmen, remained only "four." These four seem to have been reduced to a single boat, into which they stored all the precious commodities for which they could find room, and landed on a small island near the Spanish Main. A body of Spaniards obtaining

notice of the valuable articles to be found there, repaired to the island, and seized upon the whole. The rest of the letter refers merely to the misdemeanour of these persons, who had diverted to their own use what was really the property of the crown.

The gloomy result of this expedition deterred the English, for a few years, from attempting to navigate the Indian seas. Queen Elizabeth turned her views in a different direction, and JOHN MILDENHALL, merchant of London, was directed to proceed by the Mediterranean, and overland to the court of the Great Mogul. He landed at Aleppo, and travelled through Koordistan, Armenia, and Persia, to Kandahar, whence he reached Agra in 1606. He was very well received, and being admitted on the third day to an audience of the king, presented him with twenty-nine handsome horses, with some jewels, "to his great liking." Being soon after admitted to a second audience, and asked what were his demands, he "made answer, that his greatness and renowned kindness "unto Christians was so much blased throughout "the world, that it had come into the further-"most parts of the westerne ocean;" that the Queen of England earnestly desired his friendship, and to be allowed to trade in his dominions; also being at war with the Portugals, that he might not take it amiss, if her subjects should take and

keep any ships belonging to them. The king ordered all these things to be written down, and promised a speedy answer. Mean time, being desirous to learn some character of these new visitors, he sent for two Jesuit missionaries, who had been long resident at his court, and to whom he communicated the demands made by the English. The Jesuits replied, that it was very painful for them to say any thing against their fellow Christians; but that, having served his majesty eleven years, and eaten his bread and salt, they felt themselves bound not to conceal the truth. They then assured him, that the English were a complete nation of thieves; that Mildenhall was come as a spy, and that his sole object was to wrest from his majesty some of his most valuable possessions on the sea-coast. After this, "the king and his council were all flat against "me." This, however, he learned only by the advice of private friends. The prince continued to behave politely, and even made a tender of all his demands, except the license to attack the Portuguese. To this, however, Mildenhall obstinately adhered, and was told that the king would again consider of it. The ambassador every eighteen or twenty days put in petitions, without any thing but fair words in return. At length he ceased going to court, but the king sent for him, complained of his absence, presented him

with some rich clothes, and assured him that he would at last obtain his demands. "So, with "these sweet words, I passed six months more," and then "grew exceeding weary of my linger-"ing." Whenever he attempted to bribe any of the great men at court, he found that the Jesuits had been beforehand, and had given more than his exhausted finances could equal. At last, they prevailed upon his interpreter to desert him, so that, "in what case I was, in these remote coun-"tries, without friends, money, and an interpre-"ter, wise men may judge." He now, however, applied himself to the Persian language, and in six months could speak it "something reasonab-"ly. He then went, "in great discontentment," to the king, and represented all the grievances under which he had laboured, plainly telling him "how small it would stand with so great a prince "as his majesty had report to be, to delay me so "many years only upon the report of two Je-"suites;" and he undertook to prove "the great "abuses of these Jesuites in this his court." The Mogul then said, that a public audience should be given, when he would be confronted with the Jesuits, and each might plead his own cause. This meeting was accordingly held, and Milden-hall was invited to make a full statement of all his wrongs. He dwelt particularly on the calling the English thieves, for which only the profes-

sion of the Jesuits prevented him from inflicting corporal vengeance. With regard to the prophesied seizure of his majesty's ports, he appealed to the case of Constantinople, where England both kept an ambassador, and carried on trade, without any such consequence following. The argument, however, on which he laid the main stress was, that where the Queen was in amity with any power, she usually despatched a new ambassador every three years, on which occasion "she sendeth "them not emptie," and that "of this profit and "honour," his majesty was deprived by the practices of the Jesuits. Then, turning to them, he demanded, "In these twelve years that you "have served the king, how many ambassadors "and how many presents have you procured to "the benefit of his majesty?" Hereupon the Jesuits being silent, the king's son started up and declared, that none of these good things had come through their channel. "Hereupon the king "was very merrie," and the tables were entirely turned against the apostolic fathers, who did not even attempt to reply. The viceroy, whom bribes had before rendered his chief enemy, was now ordered to make out a writing, granting to the English every thing that Mildenhall might chuse to demand. In thirty days he had it signed and sealed, "to my own great contentment, and, as I "hope, to the profit of my nation." He then

took leave of the court, and proceeded through Persia to Casbin, whence he writes this despatch.

THE next mission to this eastern potentate was by RICHARD HAWKINS, who went out with Captain Keeling to Sacotora, and sailed thence for Surat, where he arrived on the 20th August 1608. Having given notice to the governor, he received a most polite message, saying, that whatever the country afforded was at his command; and inviting him on shore. He says, "After their "barbarous manner I was kindly received;" and crowds flocked to see this "new-come people, "much nominated." On his way to the governor's house, he was stopped by the intelligence that he was not well; "but, as I rather think, "drunk with affion or opium." Hawkins went therefore to the "chief customer," who decided in all maritime questions. Having requested permission for the English to trade, that officer answered, that he could decide nothing, unless under the sanction of Mocrebchan, the viceroy of Cambaya. To him a message was immediately sent, which was delayed for twenty days, "by reason of "the great waters and raines, that men could not "passe." Permission was then received to land, buy and sell, for the present voyage, but it was intimated, that no permanent arrangements could be made, unless by the king, who would proba-

bly grant them, provided "he would be at the "pains of two months travel." Hawkins immediately began "easing the ship of her heavy "burthen;" and at the same time taking in goods for Priaman and Bantam. This measure proved by no means agreeable to the native merchants, "whose grumbling was very much, and "complaining of the leave that was granted me, "which would cut their own throates." However, Mocrebchan arrived, and after receiving a due share for the Great Mogul, allowed the goods to be shipped. It being determined that Hawkins should proceed to court, he put the vessel under the command of one Marlow, and saw it set sail. The next day he was astonished to meet ten or twelve of his men, with dismay painted in their countenances, "and telling me the heaviest "news, as I thought, that ever came unto me." No sooner were they outside of the bar, than two Portuguese frigates bore down upon them, and as supposed friends, meeting no resistance, immediately boarded, and took ship, cargo, and crew, a few only escaping. At these dreadful tidings Hawkins immediately sent a message to the Portuguese captain, observing that he came to trade under the King of England's commission, who was a friend to his master, but would no doubt revenge so gross an injury done to his flag and subjects. The captain did not even

deign an answer; "but the proud rascal braved so "much, most vilely abusing his Majesty, terming "him King of fishermen, and a —— for his com- "mission." Nor was this all: the captain sent next day an officer to the governor, demanding that he should send Hawkins prisoner on board, under pretence that he was a Dutchman. This does not appear to have been granted; and Hawkins having found out this envoy, began to remonstrate with him on the monstrous iniquity of which his master had been guilty. The Portuguese insisted that no one had a right to sail in the Indian seas without a Portuguese license; a pretension which our author indignantly repelled, insisting that an English license was altogether sufficient, and "he that saith the contrary is a traitor and "a villaine, and so tell your great captain, and "that I will maintain it with my sword if he dare "come on shore." The Moors seeing matters run so high, thought it best to separate the two disputants, lest bloodshed should arise. It was soon discovered, however, that Mocrebchan had been accessary to the whole transaction, and that the artificial delays which had been created were solely with the view of allowing the frigates to get themselves into the position which enabled them to capture the English vessel.

Hawkins was now surrounded with enemies, and was "so misused, that it was insufferable;

" howsoever, well used or ill, it was not for me " to take thought for any thing." The most grievous injury arose from Mocrebchan, who still indeed maintained an external courtesy, but insisted on trading only upon his own terms, " taking " what he pleased, and leaving what he pleased, " giving me such a price as his own barbarous " conscience afforded." In this manner he made successive visits, " sweeping me cleane of all things " that were good," and not paying even the small prices which he himself had fixed. Nay, when our author's warehouses were emptied of every thing for which the chief felt an inclination, " he " by little and little degraded me of his good " looks." Meanwhile, it behoved Hawkins to be continually on his guard against the plots which the Portuguese laid against his life. These were fomented by a Jesuit, whom he quarrelled with publicly in the company of Mocrebchan, " for " vile speeches made by him of our King and " nation to be vassals unto the king of Por- " tugal;" which kindled in our patriotic Briton such indignation, that " if I had had my will, he " had never spoken more." The first attempt was made at a great feast given by a Moorish captain on occasion of freighting his ship. A band of Portuguese spread themselves along the shore, out of whom " three gallant fellows" came, and inquired for the English captain. Hawkins an-

swered to the title; but, immediately perceiving their drift, drew his sword, and was so effectually seconded by the Moguls, that "if the Portugals "had not been the swifter, both they and their "scattered men had come short home." At one time they attacked his house, but were beaten off; at other times they lurked in the streets. He now made a bitter complaint to the governor, that "he was not able to go about his "business, for the Portugals coming armed into "the city to murder him;" and this procured a prohibition against their carrying arms.

None of these dangers or discouragements could deter Hawkins' projected journey to court. "In "spight of them all, I took heart and resolution "to go forwards on my travels." Mocrebchan furnished a guard; but as it was small, and little to be trusted, he was fortunate in forming an intimacy with a captain of the viceroy of Decan, who gave him "valiant horsemen Pattans, a "people very much feared in those parts." They were not superfluous, as the Portuguese had made arrangements with a Raga (rajah) to intercept him with two hundred horse, who did not however venture to face the Pattans. At Dayta, his coachman getting drunk, disclosed to his comrades, that he was under an obligation to murder Hawkins next morning. A strict investigation being made, the coachman did not attempt to

deny the fact; "but he would never confesse "who hired him, although he was very much "beaten; cursing his fortune that he could not "effect it." The interpreter had made the same promise, but declared he never meant to perform it. "Thus God preserved me." The Pattans conveyed him in safety to Brampart (Burhanpoor), where he was well received by the viceroy, and joining a caravan, arrived safely at Agra on the 16th April 1609. He began, (for what reason is not said), to look out for lodgings in a very secret manner; when the Mogul, hearing that he was come, but not to be found, sent troops of horse and foot in all directions in search of him. On finding him, they conducted him to the presence "in such extraordinary haste, that "I could scarce obtayne time to apparel myself." On his introduction, however, the king "with "a most kinde and smiling countenance, bade "me most heartily welcome;" and on his letter being presented, "stretched down his hand from "the seate royall, where he sat in great ma-"jestie." He employed a Jesuit to read it, assuring our author beforehand, that he should obtain every request contained in it. The Jesuit "discommended the style, saying it was basely "penned;" a charge indignantly repelled by Hawkins, and which did not seem to make any impression on the monarch.

In the course of the interview, the Mogul perceived that our author could speak the Turkish language, with which he himself was also acquainted. He admitted him therefore to a private audience, and was so much pleased, that he had daily conferences with him. He made various inquiries about England, the different powers of Europe, and particularly the West Indies, of whose existence he had lately heard. Hawkins now opened the budget of his wrongs against Mocrebchan; and his complaints being seconded by other complaints from the same quarter, the king expressed much displeasure, and assured him of full restitution. Hawkins now finding himself in high favour, "to the griefe of all his "enemies," requested permission to go and establish an English factory at Surat, with free permission to trade. The king, however, was unwilling to part with him, and promising every favour to the English trade, requested that he would remain, with an appointment of four hundred horse, (equal to L.3200), with the promise of being raised in time to a thousand horse; "for "the nobilitie of India have their title by the "number of their horses." Hawkins reflected, that he could probably benefit the Company more by remaining at the Mogul's court than any where else; "and, in the meane time, I should

" feather my neast;" he made no hesitation therefore in accepting the offer.

Hawkins being now " in the highest of his " favours, the Jesuits and Portugals slept not." The former, he is convinced, " did little regard " their masses and church matters, for studying " how to overthrow my affairs." Besides their representations, they procured a long letter from Mocrebchan, representing the bad character of the English, and the danger of allowing them any footing on his coasts. The king, however, declared, that he saw no reason to apprehend any danger on that score; " upon which answere " the Portuguese were like madde dogges, la- " bouring to worke my passage out of the world." To poison, administered by them, he imputes the illness of himself and servants, though probably the climate might be a sufficient cause. The king, wishing still farther to testify his favour, proposed that he should marry " a white mayden " out of his palace." Hawkins, anxious to evade such a proposition, without appearing to undervalue the honour, replied, that his conscience did not allow him to marry a Moor; but that if there were a Christian lady in the palace, he would with great pleasure be united to her. " I " little thought," says he, " a Christian would " bee found." However, the king, by diligent research, discovered a young Armenian lady,

whose father had left her a large fortune, of all which she had been robbed, except a few jewels. Our author, though the matter had fallen out so much contrary to his wish and expectation, hesitated not to adhere to his promise, and marry the lady, though he did not exactly know how to proceed. "The priest was my man "Nicholas, which I thought had been lawful." It should be mentioned to his honour, that though he afterwards found this ceremony not valid, he did not attempt to break off the engagement so reluctantly entered into, but was married anew after the English form; and even adds, "so ever "after I lived content."

Meantime Mocrebchan, in consequence of the complaints made by our author and others, was summoned to court, and the king was moved with such indignation, that he determined to strip him of all those articles of his property, the possession of which might appear to himself desirable. Mocrebchan was therefore obliged to make a full exhibition of his chattels, which were so immense, that the survey and selection afforded full employment to his majesty during two months, when the refuse was returned to the original plunderer. The main object of Mocrebchan's disgrace being now accomplished, he found means, through the influence of the vizier, to be reinstated in his post, and, though ordered to pay our

author the full amount of his debt, contrived to withhold a large portion. Hawkins' remonstrances were most vehement, but the vizier at last told him, that "if he did open his mouth any "more," he would be made to lose ten times the sum. The vizier and Mocrebchan, from this time, set every engine at work to subvert our author's favour. They procured a letter from several of the first merchants of Surat, representing that "they were all undone because of the "English;" that the Portuguese would now neither trade themselves, nor allow others to trade; and "that henceforth no toy would come into "his country." The king, besieged by these remonstrances, at length said, "Let the English "come no more." Hawkins, struck by this unexpected blow, determined to lie by, till he had procured a "toy" worthy the acceptance of his majesty. A petition being then made, and duly accompanied, the king at once restored all the privileges formerly granted, and forbade any one to speak against the English. As every transaction at court was committed to writing, each party by a small fee to the writer, obtained immediate information of whatever had been done. The vizier and Mocrebchan now redoubled their efforts, and, by earnest representations, duly accompanied with "toys," procured the revocation of this last edict, and the renewal of that in their own

favour. "Thus was I tossed and tumbled." At the same time, all the emoluments allowed by the king being drawn from portions of territory assigned for that purpose, the vizier granted only those districts "where out-lawes reigned," so that, instead of the feathered nest which he had so fondly anticipated, he could with difficulty eke out a bare subsistence. The minister also directed that he should be kept without the red rails, which enclosed the place of highest favour near the person of the monarch. In this state of affairs, Hawkins determined "either to be well in or well "out." He presented a petition, praying that his majesty would either grant his demands, or permit him to return home in safety. The king at once chose the latter alternative, and Hawkins' only care was now "to cleere himself of the country." Here even the Jesuits were too glad to be rid of him, not to be ready with their aid. But while he was in full preparation, a new revolution ensued. Mocrebchan came to court "with many "gallant and rare things," but a balass ruby of which he had boasted did not make its appearance, which sensibly diminished his favour. At the same time, his enemy the vizier, upon the complaint of some noblemen, was deposed, and an intimate friend of Hawkins raised to the office. All our author's hopes were now revived, but as, "without gifts or bribes, nothing would go

" forward," he was obliged to wait till he had got some " toy " for the king. At last, on shewing the new vizier a ruby ring, that minister declared " the king was already wonne." He was accordingly introduced into the presence, presented his petition and ring, and all the demands, which had been so repeatedly granted and denied, were granted afresh in their fullest extent. " But " now what followed?" A bosom friend of Mocrebchan and the late vizier, who still' enjoyed high favour, made a long speech, shewing the mischief which would arise from granting such privileges to the English, and the injury to his majesty's honour from thus contravening his own decree. These arguments prevailed; the king expressed his wish that Hawkins should remain, promising that all his appointments should be made good, but refused granting any privileges to the English trade. Our author not chusing to separate his own fortunes from those of his country, and receiving a second denial, saw no alternative but to depart from Agra, which he did on the 2d November 1611, after a residence of somewhat more than two years.

Although the result of Hawkins' expedition had been so unsatisfactory, it was hoped that a more respectable and accredited mission might be attended with happier success. Sir Thomas

Roe, therefore, a person respectable both in rank and character, was sent, well provided, not only with credentials, but with presents, the importance of which, in oriental diplomacy, had appeared so manifest. Sir Thomas left England on the 6th March 1612, and on the 26th September arrived at Surat. He complains of many wrongs here endured from Mocrebchan, who was now in alliance with Sultan Coronne, the king's favourite son; and with Asaph Khan the vizier. However, he succeeded, on the 80th, in effecting his departure for the Mogul court.

On the arrival of the embassy at Burhanpoor, Sir Thomas, understanding that the prince wished to see him, and being both curious himself, and "loath to distaste him," went to the Durbar. He found him sitting "high in a gallery that "went round, with a canopy over him, and a car-"pet before him, in great but barbarous state." Refusing the demand of touching the ground with his head, he was at last ushered within the rails, where the prince was attended by all his courtiers. "To describe it rightly, it was like a great "stage, and the prince sate aboye as the mock "kings doe there." Here Sir Thomas seems to have been disposed to make himself much more at ease than the ceremonial of an eastern court would admit. Dissatisfied with standing below, he expressed a wish to go up to the prince; but

was told, "if the king of Persia, or the Great "Turke were there, it might not be admitted." He then requested a chair to sit upon, but was answered "no man ever sate in that place." In other points he was tolerably received, his presents accepted, and a more private audience even appointed; but unluckily one of the presents happened to be a case of bottles, "which took him up by "the way," and the prince was obliged to send an apology, the reason of which, though not explained, was shrewdly conjectured by the embassy.

On the 22d the embassy came to Cytor (Chitore), a ruined city on the top of a precipitous hill, appearing to them "a tombe of wonderful mag- "nificence." It contained a hundred churches, lofty towers, and innumerable houses, but not one inhabitant. The present Mogul dynasty, he says, had brought all the ancient cities to ruin, in order, as he supposes, that there might appear to have been nothing great before their time.

On the 22d January Sir Thomas arrived at Adsmere (Ajmere), where the Mogul then resided, and at four in the afternoon repaired to court. He begins with giving an account of obtaining access and transacting business with the Mogul. At the Durbar in the afternoon, and at the Guzelcan in the evening, that prince made his daily appearance. The former was the place to receive all strangers and petitioners, to give

audience, "to see, and be seene." To the Guzelcan were admitted only persons of high quality, and by special permission. At these two places all matters of state were daily decided and registered, and might be seen for two shillings, "but "the common base people knew as much as the "councell; and the newes every day is the King's "new resolutions, tossed and censured by every "rascall." It was necessary, in order to prevent mutiny, that the King should thus exhibit himself every day, unless in the event of being sick or drunk, when a proper apology must be made. "Two dayes no reason can excuse;" the doors must be opened, and he must be seen at least by some. Thus, our author observes, "as all his "subjects are slaves, so is he in a kind of reci-"procal bondage."

At the Durbar, the different ranks were distinguished by a series of rails, which placed each class, according to its dignity, nearer to the royal person; while the multitude stood in an outer court, but so that they also could see the raised gallery in which the monarch was seated. Our author again repeats the similitude of a theatre; "the manner of the king in his gallery; the "great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vul-"gar below gazing on." The audience was one of mere ceremony, but the reception was favourable; more so, our author was assured, though

probably with flattery, than had ever been granted to any Turkish or Persian ambassador. On the 22d he waited on Sultan Coronne, from whom, as being both proud and ill inclined towards himself, he was afraid of meeting with a less courteous treatment; however, all passed well outwardly. On the 1st March he was taken to see a pleasure-house of the king, with a handsome garden, situated between two high rocks, so as to be accessible only by a narrow foot-path; "a "place of much melancholy delight and securi- "tie, onely being accompanied with wild pea- "cocks, turtles, fowles, and munkeys, that in- "habit the rocks hanging every way over it."

On the 12th, Sir Thomas had an audience of the king, which proved only one of ceremony; but he was admitted so far as "to view the in- "ward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I "confesse was rich, but of so divers pieces, and "so unsutable, that it was rather patched than "glorious." On the 13th he determined to repair to the Guzelcan, which he found was the only place where any real business could be done. He obtained admission; but Asaph Khan, the leader of his enemies, was in attendance, "mis- "trusting I would utter more than he was willing "to heare." The first manœuvre was to admit him, but keep out the interpreter; however, on the first question that was put by the king, Roe

represented the necessity of having that person, and procured his admission. Then "that fac- "tion hedged the king so, that I could scarce "see him;" but the ambassador having loudly craved audience, they were obliged to make way. Roe being now on one side of the interpreter, Asaph Khan stationed himself on the other, "to "awe him with winking and jogging." Sometimes, in the course of the conference, he attempted to pull him; but Roe held him fast, and his adversary had nothing left but "to wink and "make unprofitable signs." Roe then began a speech, stating the anxious wish of his sovereign for a regular communication with the Mogul, and giving hints of the presents which, in such a case, would be constantly arriving. The king immediately commenced a diligent inquiry upon this subject; and whether these presents would be jewels and precious stones. The ambassador replied, that these being the produce of his majesty's own country, did not seem proper objects to bring from a distance; that he would rather study to produce "things rare here and unseene," such as "excellent artifices in painting, carving, cut- "ting," &c. This pleased tolerably; but the king expressed a most earnest wish for an English horse, proposing that five or six should be embarked, so that one at least might arrive. The ambassador could not undertake for the transpor-

tation, but promised that the trial should be made. The king was now in such good humour, that Roe thought he might venture to open his grievances; but wishing not to push matters too far, said he trusted to the king's son, who commanded at Surat, for redress. Unluckily the king mistook, and supposed that a complaint was making against his son; whereupon he started up, calling out *Mio filio! Mio filio!* Roe did all he could to repair the mistake; but this did not prevent his being involved in a warm dispute with Asaph Khan and Mocrebchan, the friends of the prince. He carried all before him, however, for this day; and was desired to make out a statement of his demands, with an assurance that, if at all reasonable, they should be granted.

Next day Sir Thomas sent an apology to the prince, which was politely received, but there was reason to think that both his enmity and that of the faction were exasperated by the incident. They represented to the king how much the friendship of the Portuguese, who brought "bal- "laces, pearles, and jewels," was to be preferred to that of the English, who could produce only "cloth, swords, and knives of little estimation." These arguments were mightily reinforced by the arrival of some Portuguese merchants, with a large provision of jewels, partly as presents, partly for sale, at the view of which Roe found himself

completely eclipsed. However, " I was enforced " to seem content, for presents I had none, and " the king never takes any request to heart, ex- " cept it come accompanied." After Roe, however, had continued for about six weeks in the shade, he was drawn into notice by the curiosity excited in the king on the subject of English painting. He told Roe that he understood he had an excellent painter with him, and desired to see some of his works. The ambassador replied, that he had merely a young man " that for " his exercise did, with a pen, draw some figures, " but very meanely, farre from the art of paint- " ing." The king wishing to see the work " how- " soever it was," Roe engaged to bring him to the Guzelcan " with such toyes as he had; which " perhaps was an elephant, or a deare, or such " like, in paper." The ambassador now found himself suddenly in the highest favour, and saw a change in the faces and deportment towards himself, of all those who surrounded the monarch. At night he came to the Guzelcan " with the youth " that painted." No particulars are given of the interview; but about a fortnight after, Roe was again sent for on the subject of a picture which he had presented to the king, boasting of it as not to be equalled in India. The king asked him what he would give to the painter of a copy so like it, that he should not be able to know his

own? Roe answered, "fifty rupees." The king was pleased, and becoming very familiar, "with "many passages of jests, mirth, and bragges, "concerning the arts of his countrey, hee fell to "aske mee questions, how often I dranke a-day, "and how much, and what; what in England; "what beere was; how made, and whether I "could make it here? In all which I satisfied his "great demands of state." A meeting was then appointed at the Guzelcan, when the king be-"ing hasty to triumph in his workman," produced the picture and five copies pasted together on a table, desiring Roe to point out his own. "I was by candle light troubled to discerne "which was which, I confesse, beyond all expec-"tation;" so that though he did actually point out the one, the king considered himself as having ample ground of triumph, and insisted on a higher reward for his artist; the ambassador then consented to give him "one hundred rupees to buy "a nagge." Some time after, the king sent for him, and desired him to bring a picture which he understood he possessed, but had not yet shewn. Roe unwillingly took it. The king was delighted, declaring "he never saw so much art, so "much beauty, and conjured me to tell him "truely whether ever such a woman lived. I "answered, there did one live that this did re-"semble in all things but perfection, and was

" now dead." The king then beginning to ask the picture, Sir Thomas replied, " I esteemed it " more than any thing I possessed, because it was " the image of one that I loved dearly, and could " never recover." The king, however, continuing to urge his request, the ambassador declared " he was not so in love with any thing that he " would refuse to content his majesty." The king, pleased with this consent, then said he would not rob him of it, but would merely shew it to his ladies, and cause copies to be taken.

The 2d of September being the king's birthday, the ambassador saw a full exhibition of the grandeur of the Mogul court. The display of jewels was such, that he professes never to have seen such a profusion of wealth. There was a procession of royal elephants, some of whom " be- " ing lord-elephants, had their chains, bells, and " furniture of gold and silver, attended with many " gilt banners." The foremost of each company had his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, and each in passing made a bow to the king; so that our author professes " it was a shew as " worthy as ever I saw any, of beasts only." In the evening, the court being met, the king presented to Sir Thomas a cup of gold set with rubies and emeralds, requesting him to empty it three or four times in honour of him. The ambassador failed not to make the attempt; but the wine was

so strong, that it caused an immediate and violent sneeze, whereupon the king sent him a gold plate with almonds, raisins, and sliced lemons, and desired him to drink no more than he found agreeable. Meantime the monarch emptied on the floor two boxes, the one full of rubies, the other of gold and silver almonds, which were collected with eager scrambling by the Mogul chiefs; "but I could not scramble as did his great men." This amusement was accompanied with such copious libations, that in a short time "his majes-"tie and all his lords became the finest men "I ever saw." These jovial meetings, however, were too apt to lead to a tragical termination. To get drunk was, at this Mahometan court, considered as a crime of the deepest dye; but as the king did not chuse to subject himself to this restraint, and wished moreover for companions in his jollity, it was enacted, that whoever received an order from him, might drink without any breach of the law of the prophet; and drunkenness then became "a glorious vice." A cloud, however, often gathered over the royal faculties, and the whole transaction was erased from the tablets of his memory. When any one, therefore, through malice or inadvertence, recalled the state of elevation to which the courtiers had been raised, the king would angrily demand, by whose permission they had tasted the forbid-

den liquor; and as none durst say that it was by his own, the law was executed in its utmost rigour, by fine and whipping, so violently, as often to produce death; "for if the king once take of-"fence, the father will not speake for the sonne."

Although Roe was thus successful at court, he found many difficulties in obtaining his *firman;* as his enemies, though they could not turn the current of royal favour, were variously enabled to delay its operation. He was somewhat thrown into the shade by the Persian ambassador, who came to court splendidly attired, and prostrated himself many times, knocking his head against the ground, "which extremely pleased the king, "and was base, but profitable idolatry." A great ferment also prevailed at court on account of a quarrel between two of the princes, one of whom had nearly persuaded the king to put to death his brother, the heir to the crown. "The whole "court is in a whisper, the nobility sad, the mul-"titude like itselfe, full of tumour and noyse, "without head or foot; only it rages." Physical evils conspired to harass and distract them. There came on a rain called the *elephant,* usual at the season, but "for greatnesse very extraor-"dinary," insomuch that the reservoir or *tank* gave way, and being three feet higher than the tops of the houses, which were "poore muddy "buildings," caused an alarm that all that part

of the city would be inundated. " All men had " their horses ready at their doores to save their " lives." The king, however, causing a sluice to be cut, prevented any fatal result, only the rain partly washed away part of the walls of our author's habitation, " so that I feared the fall more than " the floor, and was so annoyed with dirt and " water, that I could scarce lye dry or safe." Indeed, he observes, " every ordinary rain made " such a current at my doore, that it runne not " swifter under the arches of London bridge."

Before the ambassador's affairs were finally settled, the prince first, and afterwards the king, took their departure to suppress a war which had arisen in the Decan. The ceremony of setting out, gave an opportunity of seeing the full extent of Indian pomp, which was all displayed upon this occasion. The prince appeared first, with 600 elephants, and 10,000 horse, " many in cloth of " gold, with hearne top feathers in their turbants, " all in gallantry; himself in cloth of silver, em- " broidered with great pearles, and shining in dia- " monds, like a firmament." He rode in a carriage, built after an English model, and on his way scattered rupees through the multitude. Before going away, he shewed himself to the people, and Roe being on a scaffold below, " at one " side in a window were his two principal wives, " whose curiosity made them breake little holes in

" a little grate of reed that hung before it, to gaze " on me. I saw first their fingers, and after lay- " ing their faces close, now one eye, now another, " sometime I could discern the full proportion; " they were indifferently white, black hair, smooth " up, but if I had had no other light, their dia- " monds and pearls had sufficed to shew them; " when I looked up they retired, and were so " merry, that I supposed they laughed at me." These ladies soon after came out " and ascended " their elephants, which were magnificently fur- " nished with turrets of gold, grates of gold wyre, " and canopies over of cloath of silver." When they were mounted, the king appeared, and there then arose " such an acclamation, as would have " outcryed cannons." We have then a descrip- tion of his dress: " On his head he wore a rich " turbant, with a plumbe of hern tops, not many, " but long; on one side hung a rubie unset, as " bigge as a walnut; on the other side a diamond " as great; in the middle an emerald like a heart " much bigger. His shash was wreathed about " with a string of great pearle, rubies and dia- " monds drild; about his necke he carried a " chaine of most excellent pearle thrice double, " so great as I never saw; at his elbowes arme- " lets set with diamonds, and on his wrists three " rowes of diamonds of several sorts: his hands " bare, but almost on every finger a ring; his

" gloves were English, stucke under his girdle; " his coat of cloath of gold without sleeves, upon " a Semian as thynne as lawn: on his feet a pair " of embroidered buskins with pearle, the toes " sharpe and turning up." He also rode in a chariot upon the English model, with an English servant, " cloathed as rich as any player, and " more gaudy." On each side went two eunuchs, both carrying small maces of gold, set all over " with rubies, with a long bunch of white horse " taile to drive away flies; before him went " drummes, ill trumpets, and loud musicke, and " many canopies, quittersols, and other strange " ensigns of majesty." Immediately after the king rode Nourmahal, the favourite queen, also in an English carriage; after her the younger sons followed in an Indian carriage. Farther on were " twenty elephants royal, for his own ascend- " ings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they " braved the sunne." Runners, with water or skins, made a continual shower before him. After proceeding a few miles, they came to the royal tents, which were surrounded by a wall half a mile in circuit, and hung with coarse cloth like arras. For some time " the greatest of the " land-sate at the door," however Roe at last found admittance, and the Persian ambassador and nobles after him. He found the tents admirably arranged in twelve divisions, and those

of the nobles exhibiting the most elegant forms and great variety of colours; "one of the great-"est rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The "whole vale shewed like a beautiful citie." Our author, however, was much dismayed at finding that his own equipment corresponded so little with the splendour that surrounded him; but it would have required, he says, five years allowance to have enabled him to cope with one of the Indian nobles. The king sat in the centre on a throne of mother of pearl, from whence he gave audience.

Although the court had been thus put in motion, nearly a month seems to have elapsed before it seriously began to proceed. It departed on the 2d, and on the 4th the king had the satisfaction of meeting a caravan with three hundred human heads, sent as a present to him by the governor of Candahar. On the 6th they came to Godah, which appeared to our author one of the best built cities he had seen in India, there being some houses two stories high, and "most, such as a "pedler might not scorne to keep shop in." In general he observes, "ruine and destruction eates "up all," every thing being the property of the Mogul, and liable to be seized at his pleasure; the people no longer able to support any public establishment, or even exhibit their property in any visible shape. In travelling, nothing struck our

traveller so much as the Leskar or Royal Camp, which he says, "is one of the wonders of my little "experience." It was twenty miles in circuit, and the tents regularly arranged in streets, with an appointed place for each species of shop, "that "any man knows where to seek his wants." At his next interview with the king, he saw an example of the veneration in which the Indian fakirs were held. He found his majesty sitting on his throne, and at his feet a beggar, "a poore "silly old man, all asht, ragd, and patcht. This "miserable wretch, cloathed in rags, crowned "with feathers, covered with ashes, his majestie "talked with about an houre, with much fami- "liarity and show of kindness. The begger sate, "which his son dare not doe; he gave the king "a présent, a cake, asht, burnt on the coales, made "of coarse graine, which the king accepted most "willingly, and brake one bit and eat it, which a "dainty mouth could scarce have done." The holy man soon reaped more solid fruits of his penitence, when the king took a hundred rupees and poured them into his cap, gathering up what fell. At length, as he wished to depart, and was unable to rise of himself, the king flew, and taking him in his arms, lifted him up, whom "no "cleanly body durst have touched." Roe, however, instead of being disgusted by this exhibition,

declares, that he was left in the deepest admiration "of such a virtue in a heathen prince."

The road had hitherto lain over a level and fertile country, but now they passed "through "woods and over mountains torne with bushes;" and no proper precaution being taken, "thou- "sands of coaches, carts, and camels were lying "in the woody mountains, without meat and "water." So carelessly were matters managed, that the whole army were sometimes brought at night to a place where there was not a drop of water. Our author, therefore, with all his accommodations, was exposed to many hardships; but all these were soon obliterated by the mental troubles which overtook him. A large assortment of goods had arrived at Surat for the purpose of being transmitted to court, to be dealt out in presents as occasion might require. These goods the prince, who acted as governor, to "ful- "fil his base and greedie desire," caused to be stopped; and as the English merchants would not give him permission to open them, sent to request the king's authority for so doing. On learning this outrage, "Roe thought himself jus- "tifiable before all the world if he used the ex- "tremitie of complaints," and determined to find justice "in a rougher way, since he could find no "better in the smoothest." He repaired therefore to the king with the full resolution of mak-

ing a most determined complaint. The king saw, and anticipating his object, introduced the subject, assuring him that he should receive satisfaction, and that not "a haire should be diminish-" ed." He then began to open his heart in the most overflowing kindness, which was soon found to flow from the inspiring juice of the grape, under the influence of which he protested, that Christians should be as welcome to him as Moors; that all should be equally honoured, welcomed, and protected. In this generous humour, the ambassador might have obtained all he wanted, but "in extreme drunkennesse he fell to weeping;" after which it was plainly impossible to attempt any definitive arrangement.

Notwithstanding the gracious demeanour of the monarch, Roe found that he had derived no solid advantage from this interview. Four months elapsed without the arrival of the goods, so that, says he, "judge all men what travell I endured." However, having committed himself already in regard to the prince, "I thought as good to lose "him to some purpose, as to none." He went, therefore, to the king, determined on making a most unceremonious remonstrance. It appears that he found the packages already in possession of his majesty, who had opened and was carefully surveying their contents. Seeing consternation painted in our author's visage, he immediately

began assuring him that not a single article should be taken without his full consent. As each, however, was successively examined, he found always some circumstance which made it a fit subject of donation. This particularly delighted himself; that would entirely suit Nourmahal; another would be a good present for the prince; a fourth was of so little value, that it would not be worth refusing. When our author began to perceive that all would go, he ventured to represent that he would thus be left without any present to make his approach to the king in a proper and respectful manner; but he was assured that he would henceforth be quite as welcome without as with a present. Unfortunately, some occasion was given to ill interpretation, with which, it seems, "this king and people are pregnant." One of the pictures represented Venus holding a satyr by the nose; and the satyr being black, was construed to represent the Indian, while the white Venus stood for the European; and it was supposed that Roe chose to recreate himself with this image of the supercilious dominion of his countrymen. At last, however, the king graciously accepted every particular of the consignment, and was then very earnest to learn of Roe "whether "he was pleased or no." The ambassador, not thinking it expedient to give vent to his inward woe, replied, "his majesty's content pleased me."

As he admits, however, that "trouble was in his "face," the king desired him "to be merry," laid his hand on his heart, and "never used to "any man such familiarity nor profession of love. "This was all my recompence."

These various delays brought time round again to the king's birth-day, when a most splendid ceremony took place on occasion of his majesty's "weighing." For this all the nobility were collected in a magnificent garden, where hung the scales, adorned with gold and precious stones. After they had waited for some time, the king appeared, "clothed, or rather laden with dia-"monds, rubies, pearles, and other precious vani-"ties, so great, so glorious; his sword, target, "throne to rest on, correspondent; his head, "necke, breast, armes, above the elbowes, at the "wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two "or three rings, fettered with chaines, or dyalled "diamonds: rubies as great as diamonds, some "greater, and pearls such as mine eyes were "amazed at." Having entered the scales, the king was weighed first against rupees, nine thousand of which, or one thousand pounds sterling, served as a counterpoise. Next he was weighed against gold and jewels, which, being in bags, "might "be pebbles;" then against various sorts of cloths; and, last of all, against meal, corn, and butter. He then mounted his throne, and took

up basins filled with silver nuts, almonds, and other fruits, "which he threw about," and his "great men scrambled prostrate upon their bel-"lies." Observing that Roe did not chuse to throw himself into this prone position, the king poured nearly a whole basin into his cloak, which the nobles observing, thrust in their hands, and would have carried off the whole, had not he bestirred himself to save something. He found, however, the silver so thin, that a large dishful did not weigh above twenty rupees, and computes that the whole distribution, so seemingly lavish, and so eagerly caught at, could not be worth above a hundred pounds.

The rest of Roe's time was spent in transactions with the king, the ministers and merchants, about the firman, which it was his object to procure. He says, "my toyle with barbarous and "unjust people is beyond patience." The king often forgot to-morrow what he had promised to-day, and in that case all his loyal subjects considered themselves bound to a similar lapse of memory, flatly denying what they had themselves heard. The prince also opposed him to the utmost of his power, and the courtiers "were basely "false and covetous of jewels." At length, however, by constant and active application to the king himself, he obtained a firman, securing to the English that protection and liberty of trade which it had been his object to solicit.

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS TRAVELS THROUGH INDOSTAN.

Bruton.—Graaf.—Mandeslo.—Bernier.—Tavernier.—Hodges. Danish Mission at Tranquebar.

THROUGH the constant relations of commerce, settlement and conquest, which Europe has maintained with the East Indies, the voyages to that country, and journeys through it, have been exceedingly numerous. It becomes thus necessary to exclude many which their merit would otherwise entitle to notice, and to make such a selection as may appear most likely to prove edifying to the reader. The choice will be guided, partly by intrinsic merit, and partly by variety in the national character of the traveller by whom, and of the district to which his journey was directed.

In 1632, a mission was sent to the Nabob of Cuttack, the narrative of which is given by WILLIAM BRUTON, who reports also his visit to the celebrated temple of Jaggernaut. Bruton begins with professing his determination to speak the whole truth, "though it may seem incredulous

" and hyperbolicall;" but he observes, " There " are living men of good fame, worth, and esti- " mation, that are able and willing to disprove " me."

The mission consisted of six Englishmen, and set out from Masulipatan on the 22d March 1632. Off Harssapoore " came a Portugall frig- " gat fiercely in hostility towards us." This vessel, however, finding that the English " were " ready for their entertainment," came to an anchor, and sent on board with great professions of amity, in which there was " nothing worthy of " belief as the sequel shewed;" for Mr Cartwright with some of his crew having landed, the Portuguese, " assisted by some of the ribble- " rabble rascals of the towne," set upon them, wounded several, and, but for the assistance of the governor, the whole might have been cut to pieces; however, " by God's help all was paci- " fied." The English, however, took possession of the Portuguese vessel, which, as we shall afterwards see, they claimed as prize. Mr Cartwright, with Bruton and another, proceeded to Cuttack, leaving Colley at Harssapoore with four companions and a large proportion of the goods; " for he is no wise merchant that ventures too " much in one bottom, or is too credulous to " trust Mahometanes or infidels." They loaded their boats with gold, silver, cloth, and spices,

which last are almost as dear in this part of India as in England. A journey, partly by water and partly by land, brought them to Balkkada, "a "strong and spacious thing, very populous. "There are many weavers in it, and it yieldeth "much of that country fashion cloth." The governor received them extremely well, and furnished them with cowlers (coolies) to convey their goods, which were now taken off the carts. He honoüred them with his company for several miles, accompanied with the sound of various musical instruments, "on which they play most delicately "out of tune, time, and measure." On the 30th April they reached Coteke (Cuttak), and were well entertained previous to their introduction into the court of Malcandy, which was to take place on the following day.

In approaching to Malcandy, with the magnificence of which the writer appears to have been deeply struck, they went first along a stone causeway two feet broad. A great gate then ushered them into the *bussar* (bazaar), or "very "faire market place," for all sorts of provisions. A second gate, guarded by 50 men, led into a spacious street, on each side of which were merchants selling all kinds of rich and costly commodities. A third gate led into a street chiefly distinguished by a magnificent pagoda. The fourth gate was "very spacious and high, and upheld by mighty

" pillars of gray marble." They then came into a broad street, which he compares to that between Charing-cross and Whitehall. This street contained nothing but the palace; and 1000 horses were kept constantly in readiness there for the king's use. They then entered the palace, and passed through several spacious halls, paved with marble, till they reached the Derbar (Durbar). After they had waited for some time, " the word " came forth that the king was coming; then " they hasted and overlaid the great large pave- " ment with rich carpets, and placed in the midst " against the railes, one fairer and richer carpet " than the rest, wrought in Bengalla worke." Then the king entered accompanied by forty or fifty of his courtiers, " very grave men to see " to." The guide then introduced Mr Cartwright, who " did obedience." The monarch received him with gracious bows, to which he added a favour with which that gentleman could well have dispensed, by pulling off his sandals, and holding out his naked foot to kiss, " which he twice did " refuse to doe, but at last he was faine to do it." The presents were then delivered, and Mr Cartwright being asked his demands, stated, liberty to trade in the nabob's ports and havens, permission to coin money, and freedom from custom. The discussion of these matters was interrupted by the arrival of their old enemy, the Portuguese cap-

tain, who insisted that his vessel had been seized in the most shameful and piratical manner, and without a pretence of right. Cartwright maintained that all vessels which could not produce passes from the English, Danes, or Dutch, were lawful prize; and this vessel had only passes from "the Portugals, which they call by the name of "fringes." After much dispute, the nabob hit upon an expedient for equally accommodating both parties. "Hee made short worke with the "matter, and put us all out of strife presently, "for hee confiscated both vessel and goods, all to "himselfe." The merchant, however, felt no disposition to concur in this compromise. "He rose "up in a great anger and departed, saying, that if "he could not have right here, he would have it in "another place; and so went his way, not taking "leave of the nabob nor of any other, at which "abrupt departure they all admired." This high tone, instead of giving offence, appears to have impressed the nabob with an idea of the importance of the English character. He sent next day for Cartwright, and asked, smiling, why he had gone off in such anger? "To which he answered, with a "sterne undaunted countenance, that he had done "his masters of the Honourable Company wrong; "which could not be so endured or put up." The king was then heard carefully inquiring among his attendants, what England was, the ex-

tent of its naval power, and the situation of its settlements. The answers all tended to inspire him with a high idea of the importance of this nation, in reply to which he "said but little; but "what he thought is beyond my knowledge to "tell you." The result was, that he offered the English a free trade, on condition that they should assist his vessels in all cases of distress, either from sea or enemies, and that they should not make prize of any vessel within his ports, rivers, or roads. These conditions being agreed to, were made the basis of a formal document, which was drawn up on the spot, and sealed two days after. On the sixth, Mr Cartwright was asked to a great feast, where the king was surrounded "with the "most and chiefest of all his nobles." He was "exceeding merry and pleasant," and having sent for an elegant robe, put it with his own hand upon Cartwright; and "thus was he invested and "entertained in the presence of this royal, noble, "and great assembly."

Two days after, the nabob received orders to join with all his forces the Great Mogul, who was about to levy war against the king of Culcandouch (Golconda?). He assembled 20,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, armed chiefly with bows and arrows. The merchants then repaired to Harharrapoore, where they were allowed to erect a factory. It is described as a populous town, six

or seven miles in compass, and containing at least 3000 weavers working on their own account, besides many that were hired. The English pitched upon a spot of ground, in which they laid the king's *deroy;* and "there was no man that did or durst "gainsay them." The time of the rains being at hand, great despatch was necessary to complete the erection, "much haste was made, and many "workmen about it;" all, however, was labour lost; for the rains came on, and washed the whole away, "as if there had not been any thing "done." This weather continued for three weeks, before the end of which time our author was sent to another part of India. He does not, however, give any farther particulars of his travels, except what he observed of the celebrated temple of Jaggernaut, during his visit to that city.

The approach to Jaggernaut is by a fine stone causeway, with tombs on each side; and "it is a "very faire place for scituation, furnished with "exceeding store of pleasant trees and groves." After despatching his affairs, he went to take a view of the city, and particularly "that mighty "pagoda or pagod, the mirrour of all wicked-"nesse and idolatry." Nine thousand Bramins are attached to this barbarous temple, and offer daily sacrifices to the idol, of which he gives the following description: "This idol is in shape like "a great serpent, and on the cheekes of each

"head it hath the form of a wing upon each "cheeke, which wings doe open and shut and "flappe as it is carried in a stately chariot, and "the idol in the midst of it." After observing that this spectacle reminded him of some passages in the Revelations, he proceeds with a more particular description. "They have builded a "great chariot that goeth on sixteen wheeles of a "side, and every wheele is five foot in height, "and the chariot itself is thirty foot high. In "this chariot (on their great festivale dayes at "night) they doe place their wicked god Jagger-"naut, and all the Bramins (being in number "nine thousand) doe then attend the great idoll, "besides of Ashmen and Fuckiers some thou-"sands. The chariot is most richly adorned "with most rich and costly ornaments, and the "aforesaide wheeles are placed very compleat in a "round circuite, so artificially, that every wheele "doth doe his proper office without any impedi-"ment. For the chariot is aloft, and in the cen-"tre betwixt the wheeles; they have also more "than two thousand lights with them. And this "chariot with the idoll is drawn with the greatest "and best men of the towne, and they are so eager "and greedy to draw it, that whosoever by shoul-"dering, crowding, shoving, beating, thrusting, "or any violent way, can but come to lay a hand "upon the ropes, they thinke themselves blessed

" and happy. And when it is going along the " city, there are many that will offer themselves " a sacrifice to this idoll, and desperately lye " downe on the ground, that the charlot wheeles " may run over them, whereby they are killed " outright; some get broken armes, some broken " legges, so that many of them are so destroyed, " and by this means they thinke to merit Hea- " ven."

He observes that the pagoda is enclosed within a square wall of one hundred and fifty paces each side; that it looked into the principal street of the city; and that through the clear air and sky of this country, it may be seen ten or twelve leagues out at sea. There are various other objects of adoration throughout the country; the sun, stars, woods, mountains, seas, rivers, and other natural objects; " some running after a " beast like an oxe, the dog, and the cat; some " after the hawke, some after the sheepe, and " some so foolish, that they doated upon the very " hearbs and flowers in their gardens." Some have their idols chained by the leg, lest they should be enticed to run away, and thus bring the city to ruin. He made many other observations, which for brevity's sake are omitted, and concludes, " Thus much shall suffice for the im- " pious religion of Jaggernaut, and the stately " court of Malcandy."

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch engrossed a large share of the commerce of Bengal. Besides their principal factory at Hoogly, they had another at Patna, for the commerce of the interior. In 1669, the director of the last mentioned establishment being sick, Nicolas Graaf, a physician, was sent up from Hoogly to assist in his cure. As this person possessed also talents as a draftsman, he was directed to take plans of such cities, castles, and palaces occurring in his road, as might appear worthy of delineation. Little, probably, were the disasters suspected in which this part of his commission would involve him.

Graaf did not see any thing very remarkable till he reached Rajemahl, which he calls Ragi Mohol, which appeared to him a very splendid city. He was struck with its mosques, its pagodas, and the palace of Sha Shuja, the brother of Aurengzebe, the gardens attached to which were judged by him one of the wonders of India. He was well received by a prince who was friendly to the Dutch, and obtained full permission to make drawings of all remarkable objects in the city and environs. From Rajemahl he sailed up to Monghir, the beauty of whose white walls, and the towers and minarets which rose above them, tempted our artist to land and survey them. Having completed his observations, he drew up a

paper, in which he noted down the dimensions of the general plan of the city. These proceedings did not pass unobserved by the guards, who, as Graaf was returning to the boat, seized both him and his writer, and immediately dragged them before the governor. This personage was found seated in great pomp, a Moor of fine figure and imposing aspect, but whose physiognomy was not at all encouraging. After bending for a long time a stern glance upon Graaf and his companion, he roughly demanded who they were, whence they came, and why they had entered Monghir? They told him the real state of the case, but he fiercely inquired why they had so carefully surveyed the walls, and what they had written on their paper? Graaf had carefully concealed that document, and presented one to which no suspicion could attach. Yet he in vain solicited permission to return to the vessel, and was thrown at night into a frightful dungeon, amid a crowd of common robbers and murderers, with scarcely a gleam of light, and where the stench was truly horrible. Next day, at noon, they were again produced before the governor, who began an investigation into the religion professed in Holland; and the result being a confession that they did not believe in Mahomet, he furiously exclaimed, "Then you are worse than these dogs," pointing to his Hindoo attendants. Graaf reiter-

ated his entreaties to be allowed to depart, representing the peril to his companion's health from a continuance in their present dismal abode. The governor, however, merely gave him assurance, that if they both died, their bodies should be carefully committed to the Ganges. They were then hurried to another dungeon, a small edifice four paces square, situated among tombs, and seemingly best fitted to fulfil that destination. Happily they were here the sole tenants. The people of the town came in crowds to look at them through the small hole by which light was admitted; some shewed compassion, while others rated them as spies, dogs, and traitors. A few days after, Graaf was made to appear alone before the council. The tone assumed here was still more rigorous and reproachful. He was informed that no punishment could be too severe for a spy, who attempted to observe the defences of a frontier city like Monghir; and much applause was bestowed on the conduct of the Nabob, who had caused a similar offender to be stretched upon a board, and his body cut downwards into two. The gibbet, and shooting with arrows, were also brought under discussion; and for some time the only question seemed to be, which of these modes of punishment would be deemed most eligible. At last, however, he was remanded for the present to his former prison. His

companion had nearly died of fear, on learning the nature of the deliberations carried on at the governor's; but Graaf himself took courage, trusting that this officer would never proceed to the extremities hinted at, without express permission from the Mogul. It was in fact not long before their atmosphere began to clear. They received a letter from the factory at Hoogly, the members of which had learned the dread durance in which they were held, and promised their most strenuous exertions to extricate them, which they hoped to effect through the Nabob, whose orders it was believed would be imperative at Monghir. Accordingly, four days after, the Nabob's mandate arrived, desiring the two Dutchmen to be sent to him. The governor, however, retraced his steps slowly and reluctantly. He allowed them to walk through the town under a guard, but pretended that they could not be finally dismissed without instructions from the Mogul. Our author had now considerable enjoyment in viewing the beauty of the place, its gardens, mosques, palaces, and fountains. As soon, too, as his character of a physician became known, he found himself much respected and sought after. His reputation was established by the performance of several cures, and the governor even sent to consult him about one of his nephews; but whether from the memory of past good offices, or

from the inveterate nature of the malady, his ministrations here did not prove of any avail. At length a second courier arrived from the Nabob, announcing that either the two prisoners must be sent to Patna forthwith, or the governor must repair thither as a prisoner himself; on the exhibition of which two alternatives, he made no hesitation. Graaf was sent up immediately to Patna, where he found himself at liberty, and spent some time in the Dutch factory. Patna appeared to him still more splendid and beautiful than Monghir, and particularly distinguished by its immense trade. A broad street, composed entirely of shops, reached from one end of it to the other. The town is situated close upon the Ganges, but raised above it by a flight of thirty or forty stone steps, to prevent the danger of inundation. Having afterwards spent some time at Soepta, where the Dutch maintained a small factory, chiefly for the trade in opium and saltpetre, he returned down the Ganges to Hoogly.

One of the most active and intelligent travellers in India, was Mandeslo, a German, who went to Persia in the train of an embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein. When its business at Ispahan was transacted, he obtained permission to proceed to India, and view the wonders of that country. On the 6th April 1638 he set sail in an English ves-

sel from Bender Abassi. He appears to have been a somewhat raw sailor, and was struck with much fear when he beheld consigned to the deep the body of a sailor who had died of the dysentery, a disease under which he himself was labouring. However, on the 26th he arrived safely at Surat, and spent some time in viewing the pomp of that great Indian emporium. Finding that the English vessels in which he proposed to return to Europe would not sail for three months, he determined to employ the interval in paying a visit to the court of the Great Mogul. From Surat he proceeded to Baroach, which he calls Brotshia, a populous city, almost filled with weavers, who manufacture the finest cotton cloth in the province of Guzerat. This city, though situated on a large river, has no secure harbour. On his way from Baroach to Amadabad, he passed through Brodera, another large town of weavers and dyers. Their cloth is narrower and shorter than that of Baroach, but equally fine. Here he was handsomely entertained by the English merchants, who took him out to their country house, and procured him all the amusements in their power. They even produced to him dancing girls, who graciously tendered every favour he could wish; but he assures us, that he offended them mortally by an unqualified rejection of their overtures.

From Brodera Mandeslo proceeded to Amadabad. Here too his recommendations procured him a favourable reception from the English merchants. On approaching the city, he was met by Roberts, the chief of the factory, in a most splendid carriage, gilded all over, and hung with the richest Persian carpets. It was drawn by two white bullocks; and a Persian horse with silver harness was led by its side. Mandeslo got into the carriage, and rode with him to the English factory in the centre of the city. He found it to compose a range of most magnificent buildings, the walls and pillars of which were hung with carpets and cloths in the Indian manner. He was entertained with a splendid supper, after which he was offered a choice of six Indian ladies, but persevered in his laudable system of rejection. He had more satisfaction in going through Amadabad, and was much struck with the splendour and beauty of this capital of Guzerat. It is seven leagues in circuit, the streets are broad, and the edifices, particularly the mosques, have an astonishing air of grandeur. The Schar Maidan, or royal market-place, is of vast extent; and it, as well as many of the streets, are planted with palm, tamarind, citron, and orange trees, which at once diffuse coolness, and produce a most picturesque effect. The vicinity is so filled with trees and gardens, as make it appear at a little

distance like a great forest. These woods are peopled with such crowds of monkeys, as to make them every-where a living scene. That sportive race, in consequence of the reverence here paid to animal life, are allowed free ingress and egress through every house and apartment. Our author sometimes saw fifty in a room, playing their gambols, as if for the amusement of the company. The chief manufactures here are those of silk and cotton. The silk of the country, however, and still more that of Persia, is avoided as too coarse; the manufacturers are obliged to import the Chinese, and to mix it with that of Bengal. They make also gold and silver brocades, but not equal to those of Persia. Another great trade is that of exchange, carried on by the Banians, who make remittances to and from the remotest parts of Asia, and even Constantinople.

The governor of Amadabad bears the title of Raja under the Mogul; he maintains a force of twelve thousand horse, and fifty elephants. Our author was introduced to this great personage, and invited to dine with him. He has diligently recorded all the questions and answers on both sides, in which, however, there seems to have been nothing more than the common exchange of courtesy. At his departure, the Raja said, "I "will see you again." Accordingly he was a second time handsomely entertained. On this

occasion the Raja employed himself in instituting a comparison between his own sovereign and the Sofi of Persia, the former of whom he represented as far superior in power, wealth, and wisdom; concluding that the Mogul had wherewithal to make war against three kings of Persia. Mandeslo, though he does not seem to have quite entered into this train of reasoning, was too prudent to offer any contradiction. He only hinted at the good fortune of the Persian monarch in having such a military body as that of the Kizilbachs; knowing the Raja himself to be a Kizilbach. Accordingly that prince was heard observing, "This "must be a man of courage, since he esteems bra- "very so much in others." Yet Mandeslo, however pleased with his reception, admits the Raja to have a severity bordering on cruelty, of which he had soon full ocular proof. Twenty dancing girls were introduced, who performed in a manner superior to our rope dancers, and with an agility which, he says, no monkey could have surpassed. At the end of two hours, the governor ordered another band of eight, but a message was brought that these ladies were indisposed and unable to attend. A prompt intimation of approaching bastinado then induced the messengers to confess, that the indisposition arose solely from their not being wont to receive any payment in return for their feats of agility. Hereupon the Raja order-

ed these unhappy creatures to be brought and their heads cut off on the spot, without the slightest regard to the frightful and imploring shrieks with which they rent the air. Turning to his guests, and perceiving them to be deeply discomposed, he laughed, and said, "Where is the wonder, gentlemen? we must banish contempt by "fear. If I acted otherwise, I should not be long "master in Amadabad."

From Amadabad our traveller went to Cambay. From the fear of robbers, he was escorted by eight *Peons*, soldiers armed with pikes, bows and arrows. They charged only eight crowns for three days, and served for lacqueys as well as guards. Cambay appeared a larger city than Surat, and carried on a most extensive trade. Its gardens were very fine; one of them, where the tomb of a Mahometan had been erected, commanded such a view of land and sea, as our travellers had never seen surpassed. At Cambay, he saw the widow of a Rajaput burn herself on the tomb of her husband. The victim came with the utmost firmness and gaiety, in her finest clothes, and her arms, fingers, and legs, covered with rings and bracelets. A band of women and girls sung before her, and men and children followed in the rear. Before the sacrifice she distributed among the spectators her rings and jewels. Seeing Mandeslo on horseback, regarding her with a look of

pity, she threw to him a ring, which he kept ever after in memory of the sad spectacle. On mounting the pile, she poured over her head a quantity of odoriferous oil, which, on the flame being applied, took fire, and suffocated her in an instant. On his return to Amadabad, Mandeslo fell in with a caravan of two hundred English and Banian merchants, setting out for Agra, which appeared to him an admirable opportunity of seeing that great capital of the Mogul empire. The road from Amadabad is the finest in the world, but through a thinly inhabited country, and exposed to continual danger from the attacks of a race of robbers, called Rasbouts (Rajaputs). The few, however, whom the caravan saw, caused more fear than mischief. He arrived in safety at Agra, which appeared to him the most beautiful city in the empire. It is twice as large as Ispahan: a man in one day could not ride round the walls. The streets were handsome and spacious, some, for more than a quarter of a league, are vaulted above for the convenience of numerous merchants and citizens, who have their goods here exposed under cover. The court being Mahometan, there are seventy mosques, six of which are particularly splendid. He does not appear to have seen any thing of the emperor; and his stay was abridged by an accident now to be related. Walking in the street, he was stopped by a Mo-

gul, who inquired whence he came, and what was the object of his journey. Mandeslo replied, that he was from Germany, and came to see the court of the greatest monarch in the world. The Mogul then said, "I am mistaken if I have not "seen you at Ispahan, and if you did not there "kill a near relation of mine, in the scuffle which "we had with the German ambassador." The fact was apparently true; and Mandeslo, in deep dismay, saw no resource but in presenting a brazen front of denial. He protested, therefore, that he had never been at Ispahan; and a Persian valet, who was with him, made oath to the same effect. The Mogul then sullenly departed, but with a countenance in which doubt was so strongly depicted, as to make our traveller judge it high time for him to be gone. He joined company with a Dutch merchant, who was going to the western capital of Lahore. The whole road thither was through an avenue of trees, so peopled with birds and monkeys as to afford constant amusement. Some of them, to the deep horror and affliction of the attendant Banians, he brought down with his gun.

The country around Lahore appeared to our traveller the richest in India, both in corn and fruits. The environs also, when the eye stretched over the range of gardens that extended along the river, appeared very delightful. The people,

being Mahometans, had numerous public baths, one of which Mandeslo was induced by curiosity to visit. After having taken the bath, he was made to lie down on a large stone, when an attendant rubbed him all over with a hair glove. He began also to rub the soles of his feet with a handful of sand; but the operation was not agreeable, and, indeed, seemed only suited to a Mahometan foot; for on learning that he was a Christian, the operator instantly desisted. He was then laid flat on his face, upon the same stone, and a new performer, placing his knees above him, rubbed his back from the spine to the sides, assuring him, that without this process the benefits of the bath could not be duly circulated through the frame.

Mandeslo could with pleasure have remained longer at Lahore; but he learned that the English vessels, in which he was to return to England, were about to depart. He went, therefore, with some Mogul merchants to Amadabad, where he found a caravan ready to set out for Surat. His way to Baroach was chequered by some pretty serious adventures. On coming to a cistern called Sambor, it appeared that the natives, apprehensive that so large a caravan should drink up all the water, had stationed themselves in an armed attitude to bar their access to it. On seeing, however, the Peons levelling their pieces, they gave way, letting fly,

however, a volley of arrows, which wounded several of the party. As the caravan were here refreshing themselves, news arrived that two hundred Rajaputs had been seen on the road, and had committed several robberies during the last few days. This did not prevent our traveller, and his immediate companions, from taking the start of the caravan, which moved in a slow and encumbered pace. When they were at some distance before it, they heard a sound made by an Indian copper instrument answering to our trumpet. The performer, on seeing them, instantly disappeared; but a much louder note was then heard echoing through the forests, which gave them reason to think they would soon have the Rajaputs on their hands. Presently a large body were seen issuing forth armed, not indeed with muskets, but with pikes, bows and arrows. The party had only three or four guns, and three pairs of pistols, which they fired, and the Rajaputs were so close that every ball took effect. They remained undaunted, however, and after discharging a volley of arrows, rushed forward and mingled with their antagonists. Mandeslo had two pikes thrust against him, which luckily ran into the saddle, and left him unhurt. Two Rajaputs then seized the bridle, for the purpose of hurrying away the horse and its rider; but Mandeslo lodged a pistol ball in the shoulder of one,

and a companion freed him from the other. By this time, the body of the caravan came up, when the enemy retreated, leaving six men dead on the field.

Before setting sail for Europe, Mandeslo, ever on the watch for new objects, took the opportunity of accompanying a friend to Viziapour, capital of the Decan, and which, for more than a century, had supplanted Bisnagar as the ruling city in this part of Hindostan. He found it one of the greatest cities of Asia, more than five leagues in circumference, the king's palace three miles in circuit, defended by a double wall and ditch. This prince, though tributary to the Mogul, often defied his power, and could assemble an army of 200,000 men. Of all the kings of the East, he was the most amply provided with cannon, Viziapour being defended by more than a thousand pieces. He had one of such huge dimensions, that it discharged a ball of 800 pounds weight, with 540 pounds of powder. The expense, however, was so enormous, that when the account was presented, the king in a rage caused the treasurer to be thrown into the forge in which the cannon had been constructed.

On his return to Surat, Mandeslo set sail for Europe, and landed at Gottorp in Holstein, on the 1st May 1640. His narrative was edited by

Olearius the ambassador, who passes a high panegyric on his intelligence and fidelity.

Bernier, a very intelligent Frenchman, the friend of Gassendi, Chapelain, and other eminent cotemporaries, was impelled by curiosity to visit the East. After traversing Palestine and Egypt, he formed the design of proceeding into Ethiopia, where he was informed, that provided he could make himself useful in his character of physician, he would be well received; but afterwards learning that he would be forthwith compelled to marry, he gave up all thoughts of such a destination, and determined on proceeding to the court of the Mogul. This resolution was probably fortunate for Europe, where there prevailed a somewhat exaggerated idea respecting the pomp and power of this Indian potentate. These were supposed to realize the most splendid visions of romance, and to eclipse all the magnificence of which the western regions could boast. A somewhat similar illusion prevailed respecting the arts and wisdom of this ancient people. Bernier, an observer equally accurate and philosophic, was the first to see through these illusions, and to form a just estimate of what India really was. His work is less a narrative of personal adventures, than a collection of observations made dur-

ing a long residence, respecting the court and empire of India.

In considering first the extent of the Mogul empire, he observes, that a very false estimate is made by Europeans, who suppose it to include all the countries from the Ganges to the frontier of Persia. On the contrary, this tract includes many great nations and states, who set the imperial power at defiance. The most potent of those is the king of Viziapour, who reigns over most of the Decan, and not only refuses to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mogul, but maintains an almost perpetual war against him. Their strife is observed by the king of Golconda, who, whenever he sees his neighbour likely in danger to become too light in the balance, is careful to throw his weight into the scale. On the eastern frontier are the Patans, a brave and proud people, who, before the Mogul invasion, were masters both of Delhi and Agra, and though now driven into the mountains, take every occasion of issuing down for plunder and vengeance. To the west, although he holds Cabul and Candahar, he is held in very little reverence by the Afghans, Balouches, and sundry other mountaineers, who will even, when he is making war in their territory, block up his road till they have levied an exaction, under the title, indeed, of alms, but which they contrive to render it very unsafe for him to refuse.

In the very heart of his dominions are the Rajaputs, whose hereditary chiefs or rajas, among whom are particularly mentioned those of Jesseigne and Jessomseigne, could, if united, hold the Mogul completely in check. This circumstance induces him to grant them pensions, in consideration of which, when called upon, they perform, with their followers, military service. The ideas, however, which prevailed in Europe as to the armies which this monarch brought into the field, could become true only by taking into the account the followers of every description with which an Indian army is thronged. Here every soldier is married, and carries with him his wife and children; besides which, the camp draws along with it numberless tradesmen and artisans of every description, who make a profit by supplying its wants. Indeed the cities in which the emperor resides, being supported entirely by the army, may be considered as a sort of standing camp; so that, when he takes the field, the whole of his vast capitals of Delhi and Agra take the field along with him. Bernier does not believe that the Mogul can muster more than a hundred thousand foot, and those by no means of superior quality. His main strength consists in cavalry, of which, including all the auxiliaries, he can bring into the field somewhat more than two hundred thousand. Of these, thirty-five or forty thousand are kept in

service about his person; the rest are maintained in Kabul, Viziapour, Bengal, Cachemire, and other frontier stations. These troops are commanded by Omrahs, who compose at once the military force, and the nobility of the empire. Their rank and pay are fixed according to the number of horses of which each is "the lord," and which vary from one thousand to twelve thousand. It does not follow that these chiefs really maintain the numbers specified in their titles; "these are specious names to amuse and "attract strangers." They receive pay, indeed, for this nominal amount, but keep really much fewer, and the difference constitutes their income, which, enlarged by sundry little peculations, becomes sufficiently ample; yet their expenses in general keep pace with it. They are not incurred, indeed, in feasting or hospitality, usages foreign to a Mahometan court, but their dignity must be supported by large trains, particularly of wives, horses, and servants, besides which, they are expected on every occasion to make splendid presents to their imperial master. It is a great inconvenience, Bernier observes, to the Mogul, that none of those who compose the defence of his empire have any support in themselves, or tie to him, except the money which they receive. Unless they be paid every two months, "all disbands "and starves."

These last particulars lead Bernier to consider the wealth and revenues of the Mogul; relative to which also he attempts to reduce the enormous estimates which prevailed in Europe. He admits that India is like an abyss, in which all the gold and silver of the world is swallowed up and lost; such vast quantities are continually imported thither out of Europe, while none ever returns. He never was able, however, to discover any symptoms of that exuberant wealth which might hence have been presumed to exist; "yea, rather that "the people is there less monied than in other "places." As our traveller is not very deeply versant in political economy, he can discover only two reasons. The first is, the vast quantity of the precious metals employed, not only in ear-rings, nose-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, and other ornaments, but in embroidering and embellishing the clothes, alike of the Omrahs and of the meanest soldiers, for "generally all that militia "loveth to be gilded." The next is, that all the lands in the country being the property of the Mogul, are let by him to Timariots, governors, and farmers, who exercise a power quite absolute, and have no parliaments, courts, or judges, by whom their proceedings can be checked. The people, therefore, "stand in continual fear," and "ordinarily affect to appear poor and moneyless," lest they should be exposed to the extortion of

their rulers. These causes not only withdraw the specie from circulation and trade, but often induce its possessors to bury it in the ground, where it is perhaps entirely lost. These circumstances sufficiently account for the apparent and often real poverty of the nation. That of the monarch also admits of no very intricate solution. Our author indeed admits, that he has more revenue than the Grand Signior and the King of Persia put together; but "to keep a great and gallant "court," supported entirely at his expense; to be prepared for offensive, and carry on often defensive war; to build those vast edifices, and maintain that pomp, which are supposed suitable to his grandeur, and perhaps essential to preserve that awful reverence in which he is held; these objects must require vast and continual disbursements. We may add, that the funds out of which they are to be defrayed, must be subject to extraordinary delapidation, waste, and embezzlement. It could not, therefore, be wondered, that a civil war, protracted for five years, should have reduced the reigning Mogul to very serious difficulties. Shah Jehan, a frugal prince, after forty years of painful accumulation, had not amassed more than six crores of rupees, which cannot be estimated at more than seven millions and a half Sterling. It is true that his throne alone, from the multitude of its jewels and diamonds, was estimated at more

than three crores, or nearly four millions; and his other insignia of state were embellished in due proportion. These vast and glittering treasures grew up from the presents continually made to him by foreign ambassadors, and by officers of his court, who well knew them to be the only sure passport to imperial favour. In the former case, however, the dignity of the monarch requires that presents of somewhat corresponding value should be bestowed in return.

Upon a general survey of the policy and economy of this vaunted empire, Bernier makes no hesitation to pronounce that "it were much better "and more beneficial for the sovereign himself to "have it so as it is in our parts." He finds not in his service princes, nobles, citizens, even intelligent merchants and tradesmen, who act from genuine feelings of loyalty, and identify their glory with his. He sees around him only "men "of nothing; slaves, ignorants, brutes, courtiers "raised from the dust, that almost always retain "the temper of beggars." Having no means, therefore, of attracting the service of any one unless by money, he can only support his place and dignity by the most wasteful expenditure. Besides, whatever anxiety he may feel to administer justice and protection, he can do so with effect only in the district placed immediately under his eye. There exist no public bodies, no

depositaries of the laws, no privileges for the protection of the people. Throughout the kingdom in general, the power must be committed entire to the Timariots or governors, "men for ruining "a world;" who seek only to amass wealth during the precarious era of their power, and having effected that, care not though the whole district entrusted to them should then go to wreck. Hence, says he, "we see those vast estates in Asia "go so wretchedly and palpably to ruin. Hence "is it, that throughout those parts we see no "towns but such are made up of earth and dirt. "Nothing but ruined cities, or such as are going "to ruin." If, therefore, our European princes should ever become like those of the East, absolute masters of the lives and properties of their subjects, they would become "kings of deserts "and solitudes, of beggars and barbarians." All the princes, nobles, rich merchants, and skilful artisans, who form the pride of their cities, would disappear. Instead of those many elegant and commodious inns which are found on the great road between Paris and Lyons, there would be ten or twelve caravansaries, or "rather great barns, "where hundreds of men are found pellmell to-"gether with their horses, mules, and camels; "where one is stiffled with heat in summer, and "starved with cold in winter." Our traveller holds equally cheap the numerical superiority of

Indian armies, and prophetically estimates the result of their collision with small bodies of European disciplined troops. "These great and "prodigious armies do sometimes great things, "but when once terror seizeth them, what "means of stopping the commotion? Hence it "is, that as often as I consider the condition of "such armies, destitute of good order, and march-"ing like flocks of sheep, I persuade myself, that "if in those parts one might see an army of "twenty-five thousand men, of those old troops "led by the Prince of Conde and Monsieur de "Turenne, I doubt not at all, but they would "trample under foot all those armies." The same spectacle rendered easy to his apprehension the victories gained by the Greeks first, and then by the Macedonians, over such vast hosts of Persians and Barbarians. They had only to attack at one point, and if that gave way, all the rest would fly in wild confusion.

In regard to the domestic condition and enjoyments of these puissant monarchs, our author observes, that flattery indeed is lavished on them to an excess no where else to be paralleled. Whenever the king says a word, some of the first Omrahs lift up their hands, crying, "wonder! won-"der!" and it is a proverb familiar in the mouth of every Mogul, "If the king saith at noon-day, "it is night; you are to say, behold the moon

" and the stars." Such adulation, however, can benefit very little his general condition and fortune, of which Bernier draws a picture so striking and philosophical, that I cannot withhold it from the reader. " These princes become kings when " they are of age, without being instructed, and " without knowing what it is to be a king; amaz- " ed when they begin to come abroad out of the " seraglio, as persons coming out of another " world, or out of some subterraneous cave where " they had lived all their lifetime, wondering at " every thing they meet, like so many innocents, " believing all, and fearing all like children, or " nothing at all, like stupid persons; commonly " high and proud, and seemingly grave, but of " that kind of pride and gravity which is so flat, " disgusting, and unbecoming, that we may " plainly see it is nothing but brutality and bar- " barism, and the effect of some ill studied and " ill digested documents; or else they fall into " some childish civilities yet more unsavoury; or " into such cruelties as are blind and brutal; or " into that mean and gross vice of drunkenness; " or into an excessive and altogether unreason- " able luxury; either ruining their bodies and un- " derstandings, or altogether abandoning them- " selves to the pleasures of hunting, like some " carnivorous animals. In a word, they always " run into some extreme or other, being alto-

" gether irrational and extravagant; the reins of " the government being abandoned to some vizier, " who entertains them in their ignorance or in " their passions; and given over also to those " slaves their mothers, and to their eunuchs, who " often know nothing but to contrive plots of " cruelty, whereby they strangle and banish one " another, and sometimes the viziers and even " the Grand Seignior themselves."

Bernier seems to have felt deep curiosity respecting the doctrines and sciences of the Indians, and was the first who in any degree lifted up the mysterious veil by which these had been long covered. He admits himself indeed to have known nothing beyond the alphabet of the Sanscrit, which he calls Hanscrit; but, during a residence at Benares, he held long conversations on the subject with several learned Pundits. All his knowledge, however, can only be considered as an imperfect dawn, when compared to that fuller light which has been afforded by the recent labours of our learned countrymen. He heard of the existence, and even the names of the four Vedas, which he calls Beths or Beds; also of the Puranas, as the interpretation and sum of the Beths. These last were shewn to him at Benares, and appeared to him exceedingly voluminous. He heard of the doctrine of the derivation of all things from the Deity, not in the way of

creation, but by being drawn, like the web of a spider, out of his own substance. He mentions the doctrine of the Indian Trinity, though not the names of any of the persons, except Brahma; but he gives the nine past incarnations, and the expected tenth of its second person (Vishnu). When he endeavoured to press upon them the absurdities involved in these various dogmas, they never, he says, made any return, but that of some pretty comparisons, fitted only to cast dust in the eyes of the ignorant. When he pointed out the impossibility of many of their observances being practised in any country except their own, they replied, that it was never intended for any other, and that they would not even receive a proselyte into their communion. They by no means asserted therefore, that our religion was false, but thought it might be good and of divine authority, so far as respected us; "but "they will not hear that our religion should be "the general religion for the whole earth, and "theirs a fable and pure device." All their scientific ideas appeared to him superficial and fanciful. They have not the least knowledge of anatomy, holding in horror the idea of dissecting either man or beast; and when Bernier was proposing to open a kid to shew them the circulation of the blood, they screamed out and ran away. Yet they have fixed the number of the

human veins as amounting precisely to five thousand, just as if they had counted them all. In regard to astronomy, they have tables by which they calculate eclipses, though not quite with so much accuracy as the learned in Europe. This does not prevent them from imagining the sun to be at that moment grasped by a malignant demon or Deuta.

While Bernier was at Delhi, there came an embassy to Aurengzebe from the Uzbec Tartars, with presents of lapis lazuli, horses, long haired camels, and of apples and pears, which are scarce at Delhi. Bernier sought their society, in hopes of gaining some addition to his stores of information, but was unable to extract from them the smallest portion. They could not even tell him the extent and boundaries of their own country, nor any thing whatever which he did not know before. Curiosity, however, induced him to accept an invitation to dine with them, when he received a hearty welcome, though with little ceremony. There was nothing at table but horse-flesh, considered by them so exquisite a dish as to render it quite out of the question for him to give any hint to its prejudice; though it was not without extreme difficulty that he found a bit of steak which was at all eatable. This dainty they seized and carried to their mouths with both hands, judging knife or fork quite superfluous; and so

long as this important operation proceeded, not a syllable was uttered. As soon, however, "as the "horse-flesh began to work in their stomachs," they began mightily to extol their own prowess, particularly their skill in drawing the bow. They produced their own, which were certainly of very extraordinary magnitude, and they offered, if Bernier would give them his horse, to pierce it through and through at one shot. They vaunted also their ladies, not on the score of grace and beauty, but of valour and hardihood; exploits in archery forming in their eyes the principal charm of an Uzbec fair one.

The Great Mogul being one year preparing for his summer excursion into Cachemire, Bernier made interest to accompany him, and observe that celebrated region, so little visited by Europeans. He had been warned by the Indians of the perils arising from the intensity of the heats in the ten days' journey between Lahore and the foot of the mountains; but he thought, that after having withstood those of Mocha, he might encounter any other on earth. He soon found his mistake; and a series of letters written during this journey are filled with lamentations over his own folly, in having exposed himself to such a serious hazard. He congratulates himself at first indeed on the cure of a flux and disorder in the bowels which he had laboured under; the heat

having dried up all the juices, and reduced his body to a complete sieve. This drying and burning process, however, soon came to a height that was truly alarming; and he waked every morning, labouring under the most extreme uncertainty whether he would ever see the evening. His seventh letter declares, that there is not a cloud or a breath of wind; that he has not seen green since he left Lahore; that his skin is entirely peeled off; and his whole body feels as if stuck with needles; in short, his only hope of surviving this day rests on lemons and a little dry curdled milk. Happily, his next letter is from Bember, at the foot of a great black and steep mountain; the encampment was in the dry bed of a torrent, which, though it felt like an oven, was endurable, compared to what they had just passed. During the short intervals when he was able to speculate, he conjectured that the immense height of these mountains, at once intercepting the northern breezes and reflecting the rays of the sun, produced this frightful intensity of heat.

They had now the prospect of ascending to a cooler atmosphere. It was found, however, no easy task to convey this immense and pompous court over so huge and precipitous a barrier. The monarch took with him, therefore, only the most select of his ladies and Omrahs, and limited

even the number of merchants who were to minister to the necessities of the court. The only animal which was of any use in climbing these steep and broken cliffs was the elephant, the most huge and unwieldy of any; but he proceeds with such care, always securing the one foot before advancing another, that he seldom exposes himself to any accident. In climbing a very high mountain, however, the uppermost gave way, pushed down the next, and it the following; so that fifteen were at once precipitated, whereby much fear and some damage, though less than might have been expected, was occasioned to the cavalcade. The chief dependence for the baggage was on human shoulders, so that the Mogul, though he had left at Lahore his heaviest articles, was obliged to employ six thousand porters; and the whole number attached to the retinue was estimated at thirty thousand.

Having scaled "this dreadful wall of the world," and looking down on the other side, Bernier imagined himself transported at once out of the Indies into Europe. He was surrounded by forests of European trees, pines, oaks, elms, planes, apples, pears; none of which he had seen on the burning plains of Indostan. On the highest mountain, the southern side exhibited a mixture of European and Indian plants, while the northern side contained European only. This mountain was

called Pirepenjale (Pir Pangial of Desideri), and on the summit was an old hermit, who pretended to supernatural gifts, and to the power of commanding winds and storms at pleasure. He had a savage air, with a huge uncombed beard; but had not so wholly forgotten the world, as not to ask eagerly for alms.

Cachemire is described by Bernier to consist of a long valley, locked within the tremendous steeps of Caucasus, which rises on all sides to an amazing height, and whose pinnacles are always covered with snow. From these mountains descend innumerable rivulets, and these, after watering the whole country, unite in one great stream, which, bursting the mountain barrier, joins the Indus near Attok. These waters diffuse every where verdure and fertility, and render the whole country as it were an evergreen garden, abounding in the grains, fruits, and flowers of the tropical and temperate climes, and scarcely infested by any noxious animals. The oriental poets vie with each other in celebrating the beauties of this region. They call it the terrestrial paradise of the Indies, the masterpiece of nature, the king of the kingdoms of the world. From the time of its subjection by Akbar, therefore, it had been the pride and favourite recreation for the princes of the Mogul dynasty. They have studiously adorned the capital, not indeed with sumptuous

edifices, but with all the beauties of rural nature. It is situated upon a lake studded with numberless islands, which appear entirely green with gardens and groves, and the banks of which are environed with villas and ornamented grounds. The river enters and issues out of the lake, and then passes through the city, the principal houses of which are built upon its banks. The Cashmirians are rather well reported by Bernier. He describes them as more witty, ingenious, fitter for poetry and the sciences, and also more industrious, than the nations of Indostan. Their celebrated shawls bring annually large sums of money into the kingdom, as all attempts made in India to imitate them, even with the same materials, have proved quite abortive. They work also very skilfully in wood. Bernier felt very anxious to verify the widely diffused report, respecting the beauty of the fair sex in this country. He would have found difficulty, however, in satisfying his curiosity, had not a schoolmaster of his acquaintance let him into a secret which was found efficacious. This consisted in keeping a liberal supply of sweetmeats, of which, whenever he saw a cluster of children, he dealt out a portion, the view of which proved always too hard a trial for the reserve of the Cashmirian damsels, who ran eagerly to obtain a share. Good hopes might also be entertained by him, who followed the footsteps of

one of the great state elephants, the jingle of whose bells usually summoned some fair eyes to the contemplation of itself and its rider. By such helps, our traveller was enabled to form a pretty accurate idea of these beauties, who form the pride of the Indian harams. He praises them, though chiefly in contrast with the Indians and Tartars, as having neither the dark complexion of the one, nor the uncouth features of the other. Compared to Europe, he does not assign any decided preference, only saying, that they may rank with the handsomest nations of that continent.

During Bernier's stay he was carried by his friends to behold the deeds of several sainted fraternities, who had established themselves in the mountainous districts around Cachemire. Their effect, however, was injured by his unfortunate habit of always considering with himself, whether the thing might not have been done by trick or by natural causes. The most remarkable of these exhibitions was made at Baramoula by eleven Moullahs, who lifted up a large stone by merely applying to it the tip of their little fingers. The stone was accordingly lifted up; but though they concealed their operations by wearing very wide gowns, Bernier, by careful inspection, could plainly discern, that not only were all the fingers well employed, but the thumb itself called into

requisition. As the looks of the performers, however, seemed to indicate, that they considered his scrutiny much too minute, he threw several rupees, and cried with all his might, *miracle! miracle!* so as to obviate any hazard of being stoned for his sagacity. These Moullahs also boasted the power of miraculously curing the sick, great numbers of whom certainly came to receive the benefit of their ministrations. Bernier, however, happening to pass the kitchen, looked in and saw on the fire such large pots full of meat and rice, as fully accounted, in his apprehension, both for the confluence of sick poor, and for their speedy restoration to health.

France at this period was peculiarly productive of intelligent travellers. TAVERNIER, the cotemporary, and, on some occasions, the companion of Bernier, has almost rivalled him in celebrity. The care with which he illustrated the geography of India, and traced the commercial routes by which it was traversed, afforded ample materials for Indian geography. His communications, however, are now in a great measure superseded by more copious information; and he has not traced, with the same philosophical eye as Bernier, the manners and institutions of this remarkable people. There is one point, however, to which, both as a merchant and an amateur, he has devoted more attention than any other traveller. This is

the diamond mines for which the kingdoms of Golconda and Orissa are so much celebrated. On his arrival at Golconda, a city occupying nearly the site of the modern Hydrabad, he was informed that the route to the mines at Raolconda was so rugged, and the manners of the people so savage and inhospitable, that he could not proceed thither with any safety. For these reasons it was said to be the uniform practice of the merchants to remain and make their purchases at Golconda. Our author's enterprise and curiosity, however, induced him to disregard these alarming intimations; and he soon found that they had been given without the slightest foundation. The roads proved to be very tolerable, and the natives shewed him all the kindness and courtesy he could possibly desire.

The mines of Raolconda are situated in a sandy and rocky district, diversified with coppice woods. The diamonds occur in veins of from half an inch to an inch in breadth which traverse these rocks, and they are mixed with the sand and earth which fill the cavities of the veins. They are separated by washing; but in order to find out the veins it becomes necessary to break the rock with an iron lever, an operation often performed in so rough a manner as to cause serious flaws in the diamond. To cover these, the most usual plan is to cut it into parts, a confor-

mation which is therefore viewed with suspicion by the experienced buyer. The Indians understand well the art of cutting the stones, but do not polish them so skilfully as European artists. The trade is carried on liberally and faithfully. The search is made by speculators on a great scale, who employ from fifty to a hundred men each. They make an agreement with the king for a spot of ground, of which they are to have the exclusive use; and they pay him at the rate of two pagodas (16s.) a-day for every fifty employed; to which is added ten per cent on the value of all the diamonds discovered. The wages of the miners are truly miserable, not exceeding three pagodas (24s.) in the year, and it requires industry to earn even that amount. Hence the temptation becomes almost irresistible to divert to their own use some part of those precious fruits of their search. They are not allowed indeed to wear any dress except a small cloth round the waist, yet they have been known to swallow a stone, or even to thrust it into the corner of their eye. To guard against such practices it becomes necessary to have them watched by a number of superintendents. The merchants do not go to the mines, but have the diamonds brought to them by the master miners. The traffic is chiefly conducted by their children, from ten to fifteen or sixteen, whom experience even at that tender

age has rendered perfect judges of the value of diamonds. They are found every morning sitting under a large tree in the market-place, with a little bag of diamonds suspended on one side, and on the other a purse containing perhaps five or six hundred pagodas in gold. Bargains among the Indians are conducted in the most profound silence, and by merely touching each others hands. If the seller takes the whole hand, it implies a thousand (rupees or pagodas); five fingers import five hundred; one finger one hundred; half a finger fifty; a single joint only ten. In this manner they will often, in a crowded room, conclude the most important transactions without the company suspecting that any thing whatever is doing.

The next great mine is that of Couleur, where the diamonds are found, not in veins of rock, but in the soil of a plain that stretches along the foot of some high mountains. It was accidentally discovered about a hundred years ago by a common labourer, who in sowing his millet lighted upon a stone of twenty-five carats; which being carried to Golconda, caused much astonishment, none so large having ever before been seen. These diamonds, though of much greater size, are not of so fine a water as those of Raolconda. It was from hence that Schah Jehan obtained his famous diamond, weighing upwards of seven hundred

carats. When Tavernier visited this mine, it employed nearly sixty thousand persons, men, women, and children. The men dig the earth, while the women and children carry it to a place prepared for the purpose, where it is thoroughly washed and sifted. In the morning all the labourers being assembled, prostrate themselves three times before a stone figure which is set up for their worship; after which they are marked in the forehead with a yellow paste, and undergo a thorough ablution. A meal is then administered of rice with a little butter; but they do not receive any higher wages than at Raolconda.

At Sumbelpoor, the third great mine, the diamonds are found in quite a different position. They occur in the sand of the river Gouel, which descends from high mountains, and falls into the Ganges. The search takes place upwards of a month after the termination of the rains, when the waters have subsided considerably. A dike is then framed to shut out the stream from a certain space, the sand of which is then dug to the depth of two feet, and carried to a spot where it is washed and sifted in the same manner as at Couleur. The diamonds are small, but exquisitely fine.

Tavernier had been assured, that if he carried to the mines spices, tobacco, looking glasses, and other trifles, he would receive diamonds in ex-

change; but he found himself egregiously deceived, nothing being received but gold of the very finest quality, and in the shape of pagodas. He found, however, that by going himself to the mines, he could obtain them twenty per cent cheaper than by remaining at Golconda.

At one time when Tavernier was at Delhi, he obtained a treat truly exquisite to a man of curiosity and a lover of diamonds. The Great Mogul gave directions that he should be admitted to a survey of the whole imperial cabinet of jewels. The keeper, Akel Kham, accordingly brought them out, and allowed our traveller, with inexpressible delight, to survey and handle them. The first and brightest ornament of the collection was the great diamond, presented by an Indian prince to Schah Jehan, the father of Aurengzebe. In its rough state it had weighed nearly eight hundred carats, but the unskilfulness of the cutter had reduced it to $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, notwithstanding which it still remained by much the largest and finest diamond in the world, and was valued at half a million sterling. There were also a pear, and three table diamonds, of fifty carats each, and a number of smaller ones, beautifully grouped together. Tavernier saw also several most splendid pearls, one of which, of twenty-two carats, was reckoned the most beautiful in the world. Several fine chains, composed of pearls, rubies, and

emeralds; a balass ruby, weighing nearly three ounces, and a grand oriental topaz, completed the list of the most precious jewels which adorned the treasure of the Mogul.

Mr Hodges, who, in the capacity of draftsman, had accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage round the world, determined afterwards to employ this art, which he exercised with distinction, upon the rich plains and temples of Indostan. He accordingly employed the interval, from 1780 to 1783, in traversing some of its finest districts, and delineating their most remarkable features.

Mr Hodges begins with his arrival off the coast of Coromandel. The land here is all low, flat, and sandy, and near Madras in particular can be distinguished only by the edifices. Our traveller was agreeably struck by the first view of that city, and the aspect of surrounding nature. The clear and brilliant sky, the deep blue of the sea, the extent of glittering sands, and the shining white of the buildings, inspired sensations very different from those felt under the gloomy atmosphere of the Thames. The appearance of the natives formed as striking a contrast. Their slender forms, their hands smaller than those of our most delicate women, the long muslin robes in which they were wrapped, gave them quite the appearance of women. At the same time, their

black faces were adorned with long gold earrings, and contrasted by a white turban. Their manners, corresponding to their appearance, are quiet, courteous, and full of attention; they never interrupt you while speaking, and answer always in a polite and measured manner.

Mr Hodges was much struck with the beauty of Madras. The walls are covered with a species of stucco called tschemam, which equals in hardness and density the finest marble, and is susceptible of almost an equal polish. The houses are large, with flat roofs, and open colonnades in front. You would think yourself entering a Grecian city in the time of Alexander. The plain behind is covered with handsome country seats. Our author does not recollect a more agreeable impression than he received one moonlight evening, after a sultry day, when, from one of those villas, he commanded a view of the whole range, with their inhabitants and friends assembled to enjoy it in open perustyles in front of the houses. The scene appeared as if raised by magic. The walls of the apartments are covered with the same stucco, without any use of wood, even for the purpose of lath. This is rendered impossible by the ravages of that destructive insect, the white ant, which is sufficient to destroy a large apartment in one night. The author saw the roof of the Admiralty fall down in

pieces of six feet square. These walls, meantime, produce a coolness not ill suited to the climate.

Mr Hodges was preparing to proceed into the interior of the country, when he was stopped by the tide of war and desolation, which was rolling towards Madras. Hyder had become master of the field, and the confident hopes entertained of checking his progress, were blasted by the arrival of intelligence, that the detachment under Colonel Baillie had been cut off. For several days there was a continued throng of the unfortunate natives, the labourer torn from his plough, and the weaver from his loom, all pouring in to seek shelter within the walls of Madras. Many bore on their shoulders, or on little waggons drawn by exhausted oxen, the small remains of their fortune. Fathers with difficulty dragging on their children, and mothers with infants at the breasts, formed part of the dismal procession. Large subscriptions were raised for their relief; and they were distributed through the Circars, and through the lands situated to the north of Madras, which had been lately ceded to the Company.

Our traveller having in vain sought to penetrate into the interior from Madras, determined to sail for Bengal, where he hoped to be more successful. He soon reached the mouth of the Ganges, but found its first aspect little to corres-

pond with the fame of that river, and of the region which it watered. The country was a dead flat; and a line of low bushes formed the only visible boundary between earth and sky. In ascending the stream, it narrowed, and they came at length to a place called Garden-reach, covered with a number of fine country seats. As soon as the vessel reached the other side of the river, the whole of Calcutta burst upon the view. The most conspicuous object is the citadel, forming at once the most regular and the strongest fortification in India. From it extend a long file of spacious and beautiful edifices, standing at a little distance from each other. The approach to each is by a flight of steps, covered by a colonnade, giving the appearance of a Grecian temple. An European at Calcutta suffers no restraint; and a truly singular effect is produced by the union of European and Asiatic manners. Coaches, chairs, saddle-horses, are seen mingled in the streets with the palanquin and hackery. The Hindoo solemnities, processions, and the ridiculous exhibitions of their fakirs, are carried on without any restraint.

An opportunity occurred of travelling along the banks of the Ganges, as far as Monghir, which Mr Hodges eagerly embraced. The high cultivation of the country, the frequency and neatness of the villages, and the numerous popu-

lation, gave the idea of a happy and flourishing country. He surveyed with emotion the field of Plassey, where Lord Clive had lately gained his celebrated victory. The first place, however, where he saw any remarkable edifices was Moorshedabad, formerly the capital of Jaffier Khan, the most popular and beneficent of all the Nabobs who had governed under the Mogul. He observed, in particular, the remains of the Kutterah, a grand seminary of Mussulman learning. The edifice was seventy feet square, and adorned by a mosque, which rose high above all the surrounding buildings. On the opposite side of the river was the palace of Aliverdi Khan, odious in the English annals by his savage conduct at the taking of Calcutta; it is an oblong edifice, surmounted by fine pyramidal domes, the form usual in Indian architecture. The next place of importance visited was Rajemahl, once the residence of Sultan Shujah, the brother and rival of Aurengzebe. The greatness of this prince was attested by the vast piles of ruins here accumulated. There are still some remains of the great palace which was then consumed by fire. Tradition reports, that on this occasion three hundred females, immured in the zenana, perished, rather than violate the law, which forbade them to appear before the eyes of the public. Mr Hodges saw near this place the remains of ano-

ther zenana, which satisfied him as to the accuracy of the paintings circulated through India, by which these abodes are represented.

In proceeding from Rajemahl, along the banks of the Ganges, Mr Hodges came to the defile of Sicrygolly, a narrow pass forming the entrance from the kingdom of Bengal into that of Bahar. It was formerly defended by a wall; but this fortification was found of no use, and has been neglected by the English. The wooded rocks here, having their pinnacle crowned by the tomb of a Mahometan saint, present a very picturesque appearance. About eight miles from the river is a cataract, composed of two distinct falls, which together are one hundred and fifty feet in height. In the rainy season, the sound is heard at two miles distance. The party having forced their way through the thick jungle, found the stream precipitating itself over enormous masses of rock into a basin, where it dashed and whirled among other fragments that had fallen from above, and then pursued its tumultuous course to the Ganges. On emerging from the passes, our traveller found himself in the most beautiful country which he had seen in India. The fields were covered with the brightest green turf, with groves interspersed; while high mountains, covered with immense forests, rose in the back ground. The grandeur of the scene was aided by the Ganges, which here

resembled a sea rather than a river. In ascending the river, they passed near Sultangunge, an island in the Ganges, reputed sacred by the natives, and on the top of which a hermitage is erected. This edifice commands an extensive view of the river and country, and is adorned with sculptures representing various subjects of Brahminical mythology; but our author saw little room to concur with those who extol the Hindoos as adepts in this art. These works appeared to him barely on a level with the rude attempts made by the natives of the South Sea islands. He next came to Baghlepour (commonly Boglipoor). On entering they were struck with a fine specimen of that remarkable tree called the Banyan; the branches of which falling into the ground become new plants; so that the original tree spreads on all sides, and becomes sufficient, within its arched galleries, to shelter hundreds from the scorching rays of the sun. The environs of this place appeared a terrestrial paradise; the fields were well wooded, and highly cultivated; the roads excellent, and they were bordered by the tombs of the Mussulmen, who, according to the ancient custom, inter their dead along or near the highway. After sunset the female relations are often seen, with that reverence for the dead which prevails in all Mahometan countries, walk-

ing in procession with lamps to visit these repositories of their departed friends.

Thirty or forty miles beyond Boglipoor is Monghir, a large old city, which has long been used as a military station, though its defences are now much decayed. With regard to these higher parts of the country, Mr Hodges remarks, that the soil is generally rich, consisting of a black clay, mingled with sand, and the cultivation good. The greatest care had been taken by the sovereigns of the country to provide for the accommodation of travellers, by making roads, digging wells, and building caravanseras. The heat is still more intense here than in the lower plains of Bengal, insomuch that the palanquin bearers, during the middle of the day, would be unable to proceed, without frequently stopping to cool themselves beneath the shade of the banyan trees. The road is agreeably diversified with various groupes of travellers, whole families in this country often moving together, the men on foot, or mounted on buffaloes, the women in litters, and the children usually on little mountain ponies, brought from the neighbouring highlands.

From Monghir Mr Hodges returned to Calcutta by water. This gave him an opportunity of viewing the scenery in a new and picturesque light, the varied aspect of the shores, diversified

by numerous boats sailing up and down. In the morning the banks were crowded with Hindoo devotees, who made this holy stream the scene of their early devotions. The Bramins were seen almost naked, and so intensely fixed in prayer, as to be apparently unconscious of all surrounding objects. The women also bathed at this hour, and being seen rising from the waves, with their long wet drapery, and bearing on their heads a pot of water to present to the temple, suggested to our traveller quite Grecian images. He extols much the modest demeanour of these Indian females. They walk straight forward, with their eyes cast down, and without looking to the right hand or left, however strange may be the objects which solicit their notice. He expresses also much gratitude for the uniform hospitality which he experienced, though he never appears to have put it to any harder trial than that of supplying him with boiling water.

Soon after Mr Hodges returned to Calcutta, he had an opportunity of again proceeding up the country in the train of Mr Hastings, the Governor-general. Little worthy of notice occurred, till he arrived at Patna, capital of the province of Bahar, and the seat of its principal authorities. He describes it as long, narrow, and populous. He went to visit the mosque of Mounheyr, situated at twenty miles distance, on the banks of the

Soane. This edifice is not large, but very beautiful. A majestic dome rises in the centre, the line of whose curve is not broken, but is continued by a reversed curve, till it terminates in a crescent. This appears to our author infinitely more beautiful than the European system of crowning the dome by some object making an angle with it. Leaving Patna, and passing by Ghazypour, where he saw fine ruins of a palace built at the beginning of the century, Mr Hodges came to the Athens of India, the ancient and holy Benares. Its appearance from the river is in the highest degree majestic and imposing, from the banks being bordered with a long series of lofty temples and palaces. In the centre of the city is a mosque with two minarets, rising each to the height of two hundred and thirty-two feet. This is said to have been erected by Aurengzebe, with fanatical zeal, upon the site of an Indian temple equally lofty, which he caused to be demolished. The streets of Benares are narrow, the houses lofty, and many containing a number of families under the same roof. Our author made drawings of the most remarkable edifices, and expresses strongly his emotion on finding himself at the fountain-head of the religion and wisdom of this great people. During his stay he had an opportunity of witnessing the sacrifice of an Indian widow. She was twenty-four or twenty-five, bearing traces

of beauty which, however, had yielded in a great measure to the premature decay incident to this climate. She came dressed in a long white robe, with a firm step and perfect composure. She continued for half an hour praying with the attendant Bramin, and talking to her friends, some of whom, in token of peculiar favour, she marked on the brow with red liquor, contained in a cocoa nut. When the moment came, she saluted the bystanders, and silently entered the pile by a little door formed for the purpose. The fire was instantly kindled; and every other sound was drowned in the tumultuous exclamations of the bystanders.

Our author's stay at Benares was shortened by an insurrection, which broke out in a most tragical manner, by the massacre of the English troops and officers which were there stationed. On returning to Calcutta, he was not long of engaging in an expedition to Agra, which the state of English affairs afforded him an opportunity of visiting. On his way he touched at Lucknow, the present capital of the province of Oude, and residence of the Nabob Vizier. It was the worst built city he had seen, the houses composed of mud and bamboos, the streets narrow, winding, almost impassable in the dry season from dust and heat, and in the rainy season from mire. The grandees were perpetually capering through them on elephants,

to the great peril of foot passengers, whose safety they entirely disregarded. The palace of the Nabob, in external appearance, resembled a large baronial castle of the twelfth century, but he had greatly enlarged and improved its interior. He had added some large courts, and a Durbar, composed of three rows of parallel arcades, the whole gilded and variously ornamented. He came next to Fayzabad, capital of the preceding Nabob. It was well inhabited, but chiefly by the lower orders, all the great men having transferred their residence to the present capital. The palace was more splendid than that of Lucknow, but now going entirely to ruin. At a little distance from Fayzabad, on the banks of the Gegra, is Oude, the ancient capital, but retaining no longer any share of its former grandeur. Of this part of India, the author remarks that it is level, and the soil fertile, but the state of cultivation very unequal, and bearing no comparison to the rich district of Benares. In some of the villages the people appeared easy and comfortable, in others very poor.

From Oude our traveller proceeded by Etaiah and Feruzabad, through an ill cultivated country, covered with ruined villages, to Agra. This vast capital of the empire of Aurengzebe presented only a picture of ruin and desolation. Shah Jehan, his son, had transferred the imperial resi-

dence to Jehanabad, near Delhi, to people which he was said to have transported thither half a million of the inhabitants of Agra. The deserted quarter had been separated from the rest by a wall, and presented now a world of ruins. To the farthest reach of the eye, nothing was seen but crumbling edifices, long naked walls, wide vaults, and fragments of domes. The ruins were calculated to extend along the river for the space of forty English miles.

This journey to Agra was the last achieved by Mr Hodges in Indostan, for from some cause which he has not explained, the one which he had projected from Benares across the Decan to Surat, was never accomplished.

THE European nations, who succeeded the Portuguese in the dominion of India, felt for a long time a much less ardent zeal for the diffusion of their own purer faith, than had animated the latter for the propagation of Catholic observances. The Danes alone, who held a very secondary place among those nations, had attached to their establishment at Tranquebar, a Moravian mission, which exerted itself with very great diligence and earnestness, and by much more laudable means, in the attainment of this pious object. The detail of their proceedings, besides gratifying the

religious inquirer, throws considerable light on the structure of Indian society.

They begin with exhibiting a general view of the political state of the south of India. The government, they say, is absolute, and all things are so arranged, that the citizens may hardly and with difficulty be able to subsist. The land belongs entirely to the king, who leaves the half, and sometimes only two-fifths to the cultivator. Whoever has any power, desires to become rich from the plunder of the people. Riches thus become a crime, of which, whoever is suspected, enjoys no rest till every thing is swept away. Hence the burying of treasure becomes so frequent, that whenever the foundation of a house is to be dug, officers of government attend to seize any treasure which the occasion may discover. The consequence of these measures is the most extreme misery among the poor, so that a handful of rice often gives rise to frantic scolds and quarrels. He who has a garment, a horse, and rice sufficient for his support, is accounted a rich man. In their courts of justice, oaths are taken by the witness wishing to lose some sense, to become deaf, dumb, or blind, if his testimony be false. The accused is also subjected to an ordeal, by being obliged to thrust his hand into burning oil, or a basket of snakes. Many of their crimes and punishments are alike fantastic. Thus

the king of Tanjore, on changing his name, gave orders, that whoever should use that formerly borne by him, should eat a whole bushel of salt.

The disposition of the Indians is described as indifferent, sensual, abject, sedate, and slow both to good and evil. Quarrels and strifes, indeed, often arise, but seldom come to blows. Their manners, in general, are flowing and affable; they bear blame without anger, and lavish flattery to the utmost excess. They make profuse promises without the least intention of performing, lies being considered among them quite as a lawful thing. Their love of money knows no bounds; they conceive that by expending it in large foundations, they can buy heaven itself. The general tameness of disposition appears particularly in the children at school, who never raise any noise or disturbance, but in return make little progress. They have, however, a sort of mechanical memory, and will learn whole books and immense farragos of words, without sense or connexion. They sing all their lessons, and never can be excited to any thing unless by striking up a chant. Even the natives acknowledge that the European schools are better than theirs.

In regard to the religion and literature of the Hindoos, the missionaries observe, that they believe in one God, have even a good idea of his attributes, and sound moral principles connected

with religion. This does not prevent them from having a multitude of inferior deities, to whom the vulgar ascribe the most infamous actions, which the learned attempt to cover under a veil of allegory. The number of these divinities is held to amount to upwards of three hundred millions, besides fifty-eight thousand great prophets. The same all-multiplying system is extended to their science. They reckon eight millions four hundred thousand species of living creatures, and four thousand four hundred and forty-eight of diseases. They make seven seas, severally composed of sugar, honey, salt, sweet milk, sour milk, and butter. The tide, according to them, is the sea breathing. They have no knowledge of foreign countries beyond a few of the neighbouring islands, and their history consists wholly of fates and apparitions of gods.

In carrying on their pious labours, the missionaries called in none of those superstitious aids so familiarly resorted to by the Romish friars. They found themselves, however, constantly opposed by difficulties which could scarcely be considered as less than insuperable.

The Hindoos, indeed, professed respect for the Christian religion, and even viewed its ceremonies with pleasure. They held that there were twelve modes of going to heaven, revealed to different races of men, and that each was bound

to adhere to his own. For themselves they declared, that they had already gods much more than enough, and that there was little occasion to add to the number. Christ might save Christians, but they were content with their Mammurtijol. Some, indeed, were obliged to own the excellence of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity; but they bitterly taunted the missionaries on the entire contrast exhibited in the conduct of its European professors, as they themselves felt to their woful experience. They earnestly besought them to begin with converting the Christians. The deep veneration in which ancestry was held, proved also a most formidable bar. They could not endure to hear that the religion should be false, in which their forefathers had lived and died. Some even declared, that wherever these had gone, they wished to go, rather than to a better place, with a handful of unknown foreigners. But the mightiest of all obstacles arose from the bigotted adherence to *cast*, the privileges of which were immediately forfeited by him who became a Christian. Fire and water were forbidden to him, no one would enter the same apartment, or touch the same utensils. All the charities of kindred were dissolved, among a people where they reign with almost unrivalled force. The brother thrust the brother out of the house, and the parent the child; the matrimonial connexion was considered

as terminated, and the husband or wife proceeded to make a new choice. When the missionaries addressed themselves to the classes which lay beneath the influence of cast, they were met by obstacles equally powerful. These persons, benumbed by oppression, poverty, and hard labour, could not be roused to any due sense of their spiritual concerns. They declared that they would take their chance of a future life, provided they had enough to eat and drink in the present,—their gods were rice and cloth,—they were poor illiterate persons, who could scarcely find food for their bodies, and had no time to think of their souls. From these various causes, the efforts of the missionaries, though zealous, rational, and judicious, were not attended with any corresponding fruit. Their only success was produced by means of schools, where, however, they had to support, not only the masters, but also the pupils, none being to be obtained whose whole maintenance was not provided by them. These scholars, however, were not only taught Christianity themselves, but became afterwards the means of imparting it to others, so that a silent and gradual extension took place. It is stated by Niecamp, that in thirty years, beginning at 1705, there had been converted at Tranquebar 3517 persons, of whom 2331 were then alive. In Madras, Tanjore, and other districts, the conversions amounted to 1140.

CHAPTER VI.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL VIEW OF INDOSTAN.

Physical aspect of Indostan.—System of Agriculture.—Natural Products.—Population.

NOTWITHSTANDING the information afforded by a number of intelligent travellers, a deep mystery continued to hang over India, its manners, its laws, and the real spirit of its people. Since the institution of the Asiatic Society, however, the labours of our learned countrymen have accumulated a vast mass of information, and have almost entirely removed this veil of obscurity. The numerous papers contained in the transactions of that body; the translations from the Sanscrit by Wilkins, Jones, Colebrooke, and the missionaries; the fifth report to Parliament on India affairs, with its extensive and valuable appendices; the recent narratives by Buchanan, Lord Valentia, Graham, Broughton, Fitzclarence, and other travellers; the accounts of the religion and people of India by the missionaries Ward

and Dubois, have collected materials for the solution of almost every question connected with this vast country. As these sources, however, are extensive and multifarious, and many of them not accessible to common readers, it is proposed to introduce here a general view of the statistics, institutions, economy, and present state of our Indian empire. This task will be much aided by the able and more copious summary given by Mr Mill, in his great work on the History of British India. It is intended to consider successively its geography and statistics,—its religion and literature,—the various classes of its inhabitants,—and the influence exercised upon it by the British system of administration.

Under the appellation of Indostan it is intended here to include only that region which is most peculiarly called so; which is bounded on the west by the Indus, on the north and north-east by the range of the Himmaleh, and on all other sides by the ocean. The western provinces of Caubul and Candahar were indeed included within the limits of the Mogul empire, and sometimes even contained its capital; but they have always been distinguished by the character of nature and society, as they are now politically disjoined from the territory included within the above boundaries. This vast and beautiful region, the pride

of Asia, and as it were the garden of the world, affords ample materials for a separate description. It forms a very irregular triangle, situated nearly between the 68th and 92d degree of east longitude, and the 8th and 35th degree of north latitude. The greater portion forms an immense plain, such as, under the rays of a tropical sun, is too often exposed to extensive aridity and desolation. It is preserved, however, from these evils by that mighty storehouse of waters contained in its great northern barrier of mountains. From every part of this chain, extending for nearly two thousand miles across the greatest breadth of Indostan, vast floods are poured down, which spread their innumerable canals over the plains beneath. Before reaching the ocean, however, they all unite in the two great channels of the Indus and the Ganges. Most even of the streams which descend on the northern side of the Himmaleh, and from the equally lofty ridges behind, ultimately force their way into the plains of Indostan. The Brahmapoutra, after a winding course, unites its waters at last with those of the Ganges. The Setledge crosses the Himmaleh, and joins the Indus. The Indus itself, after draining all the waters of Little Thibet, and of the eastern side of the Beloor, collects them into one vast torrent, and bursts with tempestuous impetuosity through the loftiest part of the chain of Hindoo

Coosh, to water the western frontier of India. None of these waters, indeed, reach the great peninsula of the Decan. As we approach it, however, new chains arise, which supply these southern regions with copious moisture. The Vindhya mountains, stretching from west to east, nearly across its greatest breadth, give rise to the great streams of the Nerbuddah and the Taptee. From north to south this region is traversed by the double chain of the Ghauts, the loftiest line of which, running parallel to the western coast, sends eastward across the continent the Godavery, the Kistna, and the Cavery, which rival the greatest streams of Europe, though they cannot bear a comparison with those fed by the eternal snows of Himmaleh. The supplies which they afford are sufficient to exempt any great extent of this region from suffering under the evils of drought.

With all these advantages, it were erroneous to regard India as presenting a scene of unvaried fertility. The streams that descend from the north, directing themselves either eastward to the Ganges, or westward to the Indus, leave between these two rivers an extensive unwatered region, which approaches in its aspect to the most dreary deserts of Arabia and Africa. In other quarters, on the declivity of the hills, or in the marshy grounds on the sea-shore, the too copious supply

proves equally injurious. Heat and moisture combined, produce there a rank excess of vegetation, destructive of any regular or useful culture. Such districts, called jungle, are usually covered with canes and thorny underwood, to a degree which renders them almost impervious. Notwithstanding these deductions, Indostan contains perhaps, within its vast limits, a greater proportion of land capable of cultivation, than, China excepted, any other country on the globe.

The advantages so amply afforded by nature, have not been neglected by an industrious people. Agriculture, from the earliest ages, has been honoured and practised. The details of this important art, however, are rather marked by the patient efforts of individual industry, than by any efforts of skill, intelligence, or combination. The implements employed are imperfect in the extreme. Dr Buchanan excuses himself, from the poverty of language, for the use of the terms of ploughing and hoeing, but warns his reader against supposing that the operations so designated bear any analogy to those on an European farm. The plough has neither coulter nor mould-board, nor is the share of sufficient depth, either to penetrate the soil above three inches deep, or to turn over any part of it. The handle, too, is so constructed as to give the ploughman scarcely any power of directing it.

No draughtsman, it is said, can represent in an adequate manner the imperfection of this and the other instruments. The labour is performed, never by horses, but by oxen, and in the southern parts by buffaloes; nay, these two animals, though incapable of drawing in unison, are often yoked together. No idea is entertained of any scientific rotation of crops. In Bengal the husbandman only considers how, in reference to time, he can extract from his land the utmost possible number. Two are often on the ground at the same time, that of slow growth ready to rise after the earlier one is removed. In this career he proceeds, till the field becomes a complete *caput mortuum*, when it must necessarily be allowed some interval to recruit. This, however, is merely lea, never a tilled fallow; so that the system greatly resembles that rude one formerly practised in this country, under the name of infield and outfield. The neglect of manure forms also a most serious defect in Indian husbandry. The religious prohibition against the use of animal food, prevents the rearing of stock in any sufficient quantity. Unfortunately, too, cow dung is accounted holy, and is therefore destined to far higher purposes than that of being spread on the land as manure. Besides its application to religious uses, it is often plastered on the walls by way of ornament, and being dried, is viewed as

the most valuable species of fuel. Well dressed females are therefore habitually seen carrying it in baskets on their head, to be exposed in the public market. In Bengal, no manure appears to be used at all, and in the south it is very sparingly distributed, and consists chiefly of ashes and dried vegetables. Lastly, the investment of capital in farming is a system to which the Indians are entire strangers. The ryot has ground merely from year to year; and though, as long as he pays his rent, usage in a great measure secures him from ejection, yet in a country where the great domineer with such lawless sway, the character of a monied farmer could not be borne with any security. The only part of Indian husbandry which can edify an European observer, is irrigation, in effecting which considerable skill as well as industry is displayed. By various contrivances, water is raised from the lower grounds into the higher, and ridges are formed for retaining and distributing it. Ponds, tanks, and reservoirs on a large scale, have also, from policy and humanity, been formed by the princes and great men of India; but these establishments are now rather on the decline.

The staple article of culture and food throughout all Indostan, is rice, which is combined, however, with pulse and millet. Wheat and barley are cultivated only in the higher and more north-

ern districts. On an average, two crops are raised in the year, one of rice, and the other of millet or pulse. Sometimes, indeed, there is only one, but occasionally there are three. When the rent is paid in kind, it consists usually of half the produce, which is calculated to make a very slender return of profit, or rather of wages, to the occupier. His expenses, indeed, are very small. A plough, such as above described, may be bought for two shillings, a labouring ox for ten shillings. Rice, depending entirely upon moisture, is the most precarious of all crops. It is not reckoned a scarcity when it rises to four times the price of a cheap year. When the rains fail entirely, famine ensues, and brings with it a train of calamity, of which Europe happily is unable to form an idea. Such was that which took place in Bengal, of which Mr Grant has drawn the following lively and terrible picture.

"The crops of December 1768 and August 1769 were both scanty, and throughout the month of October 1769, the usual period of heavy rains, which are absolutely necessary for the latter crop of rice, hardly a drop fell. The almost total failure of a third crop, after the deficiency of the two preceding ones, filled all men with consternation and dismay. Some hopes were still placed in the crops of inferior grain, usually reaped between February and April, which every endea-

vour was exerted to increase; but the refreshing showers that usually fall in what are called the dry months, between January and May, also failed, and in the fatal year 1770, there was scarcely any rain till late in May. The heat was insufferable, and every kind of grain or pulse then growing was in a great degree dried up on the ground. Nothing appeared but universal despondence, and unavoidable destruction, for the same calamity extended to the Upper India, and there was no neighbouring country that had been used to furnish Bengal with rice by sea, or that could afford an adequate supply.

"The famine was felt in all the northern districts of Bengal as early as the month of November 1769, and before the end of April following had spread desolation through all their provinces. Rice gradually rose to four, and at length to ten times its usual price, but even at that rate was not to be had. Suffering multitudes were seen seeking subsistence from the leaves and bark of trees. In the country, the highways and fields were strewed, in towns, the streets and passages choaked, with the dying and dead. Multitudes flocked to Moorshedabad, the capital. It became more necessary to draw supplies to that city, and no endeavour was spared to bring all the grain in the country to market. The Company, the Nabob, the ministers, Euro-

pean and native individuals, contributed for feeding the poor. In Moorshedabad alone seven thousand were daily fed for several months, and the same practice was followed in other places; but the good effects were hardly discernable amid the general devastation. In and about the capital the mortality increased so fast, that it became necessary to keep a set of persons constantly employed in removing the dead from the streets and roads; and these unfortunate victims were placed in rafts, and floated down the river. At length the persons employed in this sad office died also, probably from the noxious effluvia which they imbibed, and for a time dogs, jackals, and vultures, were the only scavengers. It was impossible to stir abroad without breathing an offensive air, without hearing frantic cries, and seeing numbers of different ages and sexes in every stage of suffering and death. The calamity was not less in other quarters; in many places, whole families, in others, the people of entire villages, expired. Even in that country there were persons who fed on forbidden and abhorred animals; nay, the child on its dead parent, the mother on her child. At length a gloomy calm succeeded. Death had ended the miseries of a large portion of the people; and when a new crop came forward in August, it had in many parts no owners. The number which fell in this period of horror has

been variously estimated, and perhaps may be taken at three millions."

Other products of the agricultural industry of Indostan are *sugar*, which appears to be native, the original name being found in the Sanscrit. It abounds every-where, but more particularly in Bahar, Benares, and other interior districts from Bengal. There are no limits to its production except those of the market, and, from the cheapness of labour, it can be raised for five shillings per hundred weight, about a sixth part of the cost in the West Indies. The expense of freight, however, and the actual glut in the European market, seem obstacles to its extensive importation. *Opium*—This extensively used drug is also produced most perfectly in the districts of Bahar and Benares. It is there made a monopoly of by the British government, which has much discouraged the culture. The farmers now will scarcely undertake it, unless tempted by an advance from the contractor, who has sometimes been led to attempt compulsory measures. It is a very precarious crop, sometimes yielding a very large profit, at other times not nearly paying the expense of raising it. *Cotton*—This material of the great manufacture of India, grows in every part of it; but that raised in Agra and the Decan is now most valued. The finest cotton sells at L.2. 4s. 6d. per hundred weight, and the lowest quality,

if good cotton, at L. 1. 18s. The great market is at Mirzapour in the province of Benares, to which it is brought often by a land-carriage of four or five hundred miles. Indian cotton is imported to a certain extent into Britain, where it is considered superior to the Levant, though not equal to that imported from the Brazils and South America. *Silk*—This precious commodity, the original produce of India and China, has in modern times been transported into Europe, and so much improved, that Italian raw silk now sells higher than that of Bengal. The latter, however, is still imported in considerable quantity. *Tobacco*,—an exotic of India, is now in general use, and extensively cultivated for home consumption. It is considered a profitable crop. *Indigo*—As the name imports, India was the original country of this valuable dye, but she was nearly supplanted in the market of Europe by South America, till of late, when the activity of several European individuals have restored to her this branch of commerce. *Pepper*—This valuable spice, the demand for which in Europe has been so constant and extensive, is produced in several of the East Indian Islands, particularly Sumatra; but that of Malabar is superior to any other. The pepper plant is a species of vine which twines round any neighbouring support, and should be trained to the height of twelve or fifteen feet. It begins to

bear about the third year, and continues productive for ten or twelve, yielding generally two crops in the year. It is exported in the two forms of white and black pepper, the former being merely a picked and refined species of the other. The consumption of pepper in Britain is about eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds, but a much greater quantity has often been imported by the Company for the purpose of re-exportation.

To these grand Indian staples may be added, as minor articles, the areca-nut and betel-leaf, so universally employed throughout the East as a masticatory; saltpetre, produced more abundantly in Bengal than any-where else in the world; cardamoms, a spice much esteemed in India; sesamus, the essential oil of which is highly valuable. The forests yield, spontaneously, trees applicable to the most important uses. The teak, so valuable for ship-building, is produced in India, though not quite so abundantly as in some of the islands and countries to the east. The various species of palms, particularly the cocoa-nut tree, minister equally to beauty and use. The bamboo, which springs luxuriantly in marshy grounds and jungles, is used in building and for walking canes. Red-wood, sandal-wood, and some other species, are employed for ornament and dyeing.

It would, of course, be extremely difficult to form any estimate of the whole agricultural produce of this immense region. Colonel Colebrooke, however, has attempted, with regard to Bengal and its appendant provinces, a calculation, to which great weight must be attached, when we consider the ample opportunities enjoyed by so intelligent an investigator. The space upon which he calculates, including Bengal, Bahar, Benares, and part of Orissa, is supposed to contain an area of upwards of one hundred and sixty thousand square miles, and a population of at least thirty millions. From this he calculates the following amount and value of produce:

150,000,000 of mans (80 lbs. each), of rice, wheat, and barley, at 1s. 6d. per man,	L.11,250,000
60,000,000 millet at 1s.	3,000,000
90,000,000 pulse at 1s. 3d.	5,625,000
Value of seed,	2,838,000
Oil seeds,	1,200,000
Sugar, tobacco, cotton, &c.	7,000,000
Sundries,	2,000,000
Total produce,	L.32,913,000

The country from which the above produce is supposed to arise, maintains somewhat less than

a third of the whole estimated population of Indostan. Taking, according to this ratio, the entire produce of its agricultural labour, we should raise it to about a hundred millions sterling. We must recollect also the extreme cheapness of the necessaries of life in this country, and consider that the same commodities exposed in the markets of England would bring, at least, four times this amount.

India has also acquired fame by her manufactures, among which those of cotton decidedly take the lead. These superb fabrics, the pride of the East, have by European skill and capital been produced more cheaply and abundantly, but by no means of equal richness, beauty, and durability. The native artisans, who set peculiar value on these stuffs, distinguish at once by the eye, the touch, and even the smell, the genuine productions of India from British imitations. Yet in producing them there is employed nothing of that splendid machinery on which the science of Europe has been exhausted, and which has made such a magnificent display of her wealth and art. The weaver is a mere insulated individual, without machinery, without information, without even a regular market. He makes all his own instruments, and that so rudely, that to him who has not seen them working, they appear wholly unfit for their destination. With his own

hands he carries the cotton through all the processes preparatory to its being put into the loom. He has no sure vent for his commodity, but merely makes a web, as the taylor a coat, or the shoemaker a pair of shoes, when a customer orders it. In failure of such employment, he is obliged to betake himself to agriculture, or some other occupation. It is patient industry, with a certain mechanical and traditional skill, which enable him to produce those works which set all imitation at defiance.

Cotton fabrics are distinguished into muslins and calicoes. Both are manufactured in almost all India, but particularly in Bengal and the northern part of the coast of Coromandel. Dacca and its neighbourhood are the chief seat of the muslin manufacture; some of those made here are truly beautiful and inimitable. The northern Circars, and the neighbourhood of Masulipatam are the most distinguished for chintzes, calicoes and ginghams. These manufactures were at one time introduced into Britain in such quantities, as to give rise to complaints, that they were injurious to industry at home; but the great perfection now reached by the British manufacture, affording them sufficiently fine at a much cheaper rate, has caused the oriental fabrics to become rather an object of curiosity

than of general use. In Asia and Africa, however, the preference for them is still decided.

The silk manufacture, though altogether secondary, is still not a stranger to India. At Moorshedabad, Benares, and other parts of Bengal, are made various sorts of silk cloths, and gauzes, while in other parts silk and cotton are mixed together. Surat and its neighbourhood produce rich silk stuffs, embroidered with gold and silver. Woollen and linen manufactures are not known, with the single exception of the shawls and cloths of Cashmere, and some coarser fabrics for home consumption, in the other mountainous districts.

The following is given by Mr Hamilton as an estimate, approaching to the truth, of the extent, population, and political state, of the whole of this vast region.

	Geographical Square Miles.	Population.
Bengal, Bahar, and Benares, - -	162,000	29,000,000
Acquisitions in Hindostan Proper, and Orissa, since 1799, -	60,000	10,000,000
Under the Bengal Presidency, -	222,000	39,000,000

	Geographical Square Miles.	Population.
Brought forward,	222,000	39,000,000
Under Madras Presidency,	125,000	12,000,000
—— Bombay Presidency,	10,000	2,500,000
	357,000	53,500,000
British Allies and Tributaries.		
The Nizam, -	76,000	8,000,000
The Peishwa and Guicowar, - -	53,000	5,000,000
Nabob of Oude, -	13,000	2,000,000
Mysore Rajah, -	22,000	2,000,000
Travancore and Cochin Rajahs, - -	5,000	500,000
Under British rule or influence,	526,000	71,000,000
Independent Principalities.		
Under Scindia, Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, - -	75,000	6,000,000
— Nagpoor Rajah, -	58,000	3,000,000
— Nepaul Rajah, -	63,000	2,000,000
— Lahore Rajah and the Seiks, - -	54,000	4,000,000
Carried forward,	776,000	86,000,000

	Geographical Square Miles.	Population.
Brought forward,	776,000	86,000,000
Under the Rajahs of Joudpoor, Jyenagur, Adeypoor, and other Rajput chiefs, the Ameers of Sinde, the Caubul Government, and chief of Cashmere; the Rajahs of Bootan, Asam; and innumerable Gound Coolee, and other petty native chiefs, - -	244,000	15,000,000
	1,020,000	101,000,000

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION AND LITERATURE OF INDOSTAN.

The Supreme Deity.—The Hindoo Triad.—Inferior Divinities.—Female Deities.—Terrestrial Gods.—Giants and Raksasas.—Animal and Inanimate Objects of Worship.—A Future Life, and Transmigration of Souls.—Temples.—Observances.—Religious Suicide.—Boodhism, &c.—The Vedas.—Purananas.—Mahabarat and Raminjana.—Amorous Poetry.—History.—The Abstract Sciences.—Astronomy.

THE impressions, which suggest to man the existence of invisible and superior beings, and of a future state of existence, appear to be the deepest and most powerful with which his mind can be affected. The impulse by which it is carried towards them, begins to be felt in its utmost force, long before reason has been sufficiently improved to be able to point out the proper objects to which it ought to be directed. Hence the religion of rude nations, who are strangers to the light of revelation, presents an endless variety of absurd and superstitious observances. These to the sceptic offered an inexhaustible subject of ridicule, while to the rational observer they prove

the deep rooted nature of that principle, which can thus sanctify, by association with itself, every thing from which the human mind would otherwise have most deeply revolted.

These observations apply to no part of the world so strongly as to India, which may be considered almost as the seat and centre of superstition. That principle there, does not content itself with governing the opinions of men, or prescribing for itself an appropriate ritual. It regulates all the concerns of public and private life, all the distinctions of rank, and all the forms of society; it presides even over every amusement. Priests are the sages and nobles of India, and are viewed with a reverence, of which that paid to the nobility and men of letters in Europe, can give only a faint idea. In forming an estimate, therefore, of what the Hindoos are, the basis can only be laid in a view of their religious belief and observances.

Mr Paterson, who appears to have deeply studied the subject, expresses an opinion, that the religion of India was at one time reformed upon a philosophical model, to which the various superstitions now prevalent have been gradually superadded. Whatever we may think upon this subject, it is certain that it contains a basis of very abstruse and lofty principles, so strikingly similar to those of the Grecian schools of Pythagoras

and Plato, as apparently to indicate a common origin. The foundation consists in the belief of one Supreme Mind, or Brahme, the attributes of which are described in the loftiest terms. Such are those employed in the Gayatri, or holiest text of the Vedas, accounted the most sacred words that pass the lips of a Hindoo. These are as follows: "Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, "the godhead, who illuminates all, who recreates "all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must "return; whom we invoke to direct our under- "standings aright in our progress towards his "holy seat. What the sun and light are to this "visible world, that are the supreme good and "truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; "and as our corporeal eyes have a distant con- "ception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus "our souls acquire certain knowledge, by medi- "tating on the light of truth, which emanates "from the Being of beings. This is the light by "which alone our minds can be directed in the "path of beatitude." It is added, "Without "hand or foot he runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; "without eyes he sees, without ears he hears all; "he knows whatever can be known, but there is "none who knows him. Him the wise call the "great, supreme, pervading Spirit." The following paraphrase of this text is also of high authority: "Perfect truth, perfect happiness,

" without equal, immortal, absolute unity, whom " neither speech can describe, nor mind compre- " hend; all pervading, all transcending; delight- " ed with his own boundless intelligence; not " limited by space or time; without feet moving " swiftly, without hands grasping all worlds; " without eyes all surveying; without ears all " hearing; without an intelligent guide, under- " standing all; without cause, the first of all " causes; all ruling, all powerful; the creator, " preserver, and transformer of all things; such " is the Great One."

These, and similar passages interspersed through the sacred books of the Hindoos, discover the lofty ideas of the Supreme Mind which have been formed by the Indian sages. Their views, however, were so far imperfect, that they did not consider him as the active Governor of the universe, but viewed him as a Being fixed in perpetual repose. The living world was formed by his emitting portions of his essence, which uniting themselves with matter, formed the existing race of gods and men. Hence all the moving and active members of the Hindoo mythology are endowed with a visible form, subject to all human passions and frailties, and their story, embellished by the prurient fancy of the poets, presents a series of adventures still more extravagant and indecent than those which characterize

the mythology of Greece and Rome. Many striking features of resemblance may even be traced between the two systems, which has led Sir William Jones, and other learned men, to suppose that they only presented the same divinities under different names. I confess that I see little which may not be accounted for by the common operation of human passions, fears, and fancies. That the sun, the earth, and the waters, should have their appropriate deities; that a deity should preside over love, over war, and over all the useful arts, arises naturally from the propensity to deify whatever is beneficial, striking, or terrible. The identity of Ganesa with Janus, on which Sir William Jones lays such peculiar stress, appears to me to reside solely in the slight similarity of name. Janus is represented with two human heads; Ganesa with one only, which is that of an elephant. He is attended by a rat, and by other appendages which bear no resemblance to those of the Roman prototype. Without pursuing this inquiry, we shall now enter on such a rapid sketch of the Hindoo pantheon, as our limits will admit.

The most illustrious members, and those first produced from the Supreme Mind, are the Hindoo Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, supposed to be respectively personifications of the creating, the preserving, and the destroying power of the

deity. These sometimes are respectively expressed by the letters O, U, M, forming the mysterious syllable O'M, a sound considered by the Hindoo too sacred to pass his lips, though the highest merit is gained by inwardly and mentally revolving it. Among these three, Brahma appears to hold an acknowledged preference. He is represented as the first emanation from the Supreme Mind, who, according to the institutes of Menu, "having willed to produce various "beings from his own divine substance, first with "a thought created the waters, and placed in "them a productive seed. That seed became an "egg, bright as gold, blazing like the luminary "with a thousand beams, and in that egg he was "born himself in the form of Brahma." This egg remained inactive for a series of ages, after which the energy of Brahma caused it to divide. From one-half of it he then formed the heaven, and from the other the earth, and by drawing mind from the Supreme Soul, he was enabled to construct the whole living and material universe. Having performed this task, he appears to have sunk into a state of comparative inaction, and does not perform nearly so great a part in the history of the Hindoo heaven, as some much inferior deities. He is represented under a bodily form, with four faces and four arms, of a golden colour, and either sitting cross-legged, or riding on a goose.

In sharing the dignity of the Brahme from which he emanated, he shares in some degree the popular neglect. He has no temple or altar, and scarcely any public worship is rendered to him throughout Indostan. His conduct appears to have been less disorderly than any of the other members of the Hindoo heaven. It is true he once got drunk, and committed some very serious extravagances; but on coming to himself, he pronounced a curse on all deities who should thenceforth incur any hazard of falling into a similar situation.

Vishnu, the second, is the most active member of the Hindoo Triad. His function of preserver has been maintained by a series of incarnations, undertaken either with the view of punishing the wicked, or of delivering the human race from some signal evil. The adventures through which he passed in these successive appearances are described at great length, and form the main basis of Hindoo mythological history.* *First*, he descended in the form of a fish, to draw up the Vedas, which Brahma, falling asleep, had carelessly dropt into the bottom of the sea. *Se-*

* The order and particulars of these incarnations, given by Messrs Dubois and Ward, are somewhat different from those of Sir William Jones: as they are two against one, I have preferred their authority.

cond, he produced himself as a tortoise to support the earth during the celebrated process called the churning of the ocean, a more particular account whereof will be given hereafter. *Third,* he appeared as a boar, to draw up with his tusks the earth which had been sunk beneath the sea. *Fourth,* the earth being laid waste by a giant, who had obtained from Brahma the promise that neither man nor beast should injure him, Vishnu converted himself into a being half-lion, half-man, and thereby destroyed the monster without any infringement of his privileges. *Fifth,* Bali having, by the sacrifice of a hundred horses, conquered earth and a part of heaven, Vishnu, to deliver the world from his tyranny, appeared in the form of a Bramin, of dimensions so minute, that he could not step across the hole made by the foot of a cow. In this shape he presented himself before Bali, and proffered a request for so much ground only as he could cover by three strides. This apparently very modest petition being granted, Vishnu suddenly resuming his natural dimensions, placed one foot upon earth, and another upon heaven. There remained then nothing but Bali himself, who was obliged to allow the third step to be made upon his own head, by which he was thrust down to the world of the hydras. *Sixth,* Vishnu appeared as Parasu Rama to subdue the Shatryas, who, under their king Arjoona

with a thousand arms, were oppressing the earth in a horrible manner. Accordingly, after a bloody war, he succeeded in subduing them.

The incarnations now described, are not represented by images, nor are objects of popular Hindoo worship. The case is different with the three following. *Seventh*, Rama. This celebrated incarnation, made with the view of subduing the giant Ravana, is the subject of one of the two longest and most popular Sanscrit epic poems, called the Ramayana. The adventures are various, and all extravagant, but the most memorable is that, where, unable to effect his object by any other means, he implores the aid of Hanuman the great Ape, who comes to his aid with three millions of millions of apes, teaches him the art of war, and enables him to throw a bridge from the continent to Ceylon, where he finds and conquers his enemy. *Eighth*, Vishnu appears as Bala-Rama, his hand armed with a serpent, with which he destroys a number of giants. About this time, however, occurred a much more celebrated incarnation, which has not found its place in the regular numerical series. This was when he appeared under the form of Krishna, the darling of Hindoo mythology. The giant Kungsu, whom he was destined to destroy, endeavoured to crush him in infancy, to escape which fate, he was removed into a remote and pastoral solitude. Here he was brought

up amid sixteen thousand milk-maids, with whom he engaged in many amorous adventures, which the luxuriant fancy of Hindoo poetry has been too busy in celebrating. He afterwards became a warrior, and destroyed Kungsu, as well as other kings and giants; but the wanton adventures of his youth are still the theme on which the Hindoos most fondly dilate; and he may be considered as the Indian god of love. Mr Ward says, that, among the inferior classes of Bengal, six out of ten are his votaries. The *ninth* incarnation is that of Boodha, who introduced a religion, nearly banished from India, but widely diffused through the surrounding countries. Although Boodhism be materially hostile and sceptical as to the reigning faith, this incarnation forms an alliance between them, and a number of votaries are enabled in some degree to combine both.

The tenth and last Avatar is not yet arrived, but is expected, says M. Dubois, "with the same "ardour as the Jews look forward to their Mes-"siah." Vishnu is then to appear in the form of a horse, to banish all the evil that prevails on earth, to restore universal felicity, and the age of gold.

Vishnu meets with considerable worship, though there are no public festivals in his honour. A number of votaries chuse him for their guardian deity, and represent him by images of stone. He is represented as a black man, with four arms,

but only one head. He is frequently invoked under the appellation *Narayana*, as moving on the waters, which office he is understood to have performed in the work of creation. He scarcely rivals, however, in popular favour his two incarnations of Rama and Krishna, which, though theoretically identified with him, figure probably on the imagination of their votaries quite as distinct personages.

Siva, the destroyer, and the third person in the Hindoo Triad, is more extensively worshipped than either of the two others. He is represented as a silver coloured man, with five faces, wearing a garment of tiger skin, and sitting on a lotus. At other times he appears more in conformity to his character, naked, covered with ashes, riding on a bull, his eyes inflamed, and serpents hanging from his ears like jewels. Many of his images are of gigantic proportions, and expressly formed to inspire terror. His adventures are various and desultory, and consist chiefly of the extermination of giants, wars with the other gods, and irregular amours. A numerous class of votaries, who assume him as their guardian deity, represent him, not merely as the destroying, but also as the creating and preserving power. But the mode in which he chiefly receives worship is as connected with the *lingam*, an indecent symbol, similar to the *phallus* of the ancients, which

is publicly exhibited in the temples and highways, and is worn by all the followers of Siva, suspended from the neck. This worship, the disgrace of Hindoo idolatry, is one of those which are most widely diffused.

Immediately subordinate to the great Hindoo Triad is Indra, invested with the lofty title of king of heaven. He presides over the elements, and appears to occupy nearly the place of Jupiter in the Greek mythology. His reign is not permanent, but is to continue only during a hundred years of the gods. Even while his power endures, it is far from resting on a stable foundation, as he has been repeatedly dethroned and made captive by gods, giants, and even men; any one of whom, by sacrificing a hundred horses, may acquire a claim to the throne of heaven. On these occasions, however, some charitable member of the Triad has usually interposed for his restoration. The heaviest humiliation to which Indra was ever reduced, occurred at a great festival, when he presented a flower to a distinguished Bramin, but had the temerity first to put it to his own nose. This appeared to the holy man so deadly an insult, that he immediately transformed Indra into a cat, placing him in that capacity in the house of a poor hunter. All heaven was in dismay, and his disconsolate queen sought every where in vain, till Brahma, by the power of in-

tense meditation, at length discovered the mighty secret. The queen of heaven immediately hastened to the cottage, where entering, and seeing the cat lying on the floor, she burst into tears. The hunter's wife, struck with the majestic air of her guest, eagerly inquired the cause of her grief, and was not a little surprised to learn, that her household cat was the king of heaven. She readily assisted in effecting the disenchantment, and Indra was restored to his lost dominion over nature.

Indra is represented as a white man, with a hundred eyes, sitting on an elephant, with a thunderbolt in his right hand, and a bow in his left. A splendid annual festival is celebrated in his honour throughout all Bengal.

It would be impossible to enter into any detail with regard to the host of lesser deities. The following are some of the principal:—*Surya*, a personification of the Sun, considered as one of the greatest of the gods, and to whom various sacrifices and forms of worship are addressed. *Ganesa*, a thick short man, with an elephant's head. Every one who begins any thing, whether it be worshipping the gods, writing a letter, setting out on a journey, or reading a book, precedes it by some salutation to Ganesa. His name or image is also painted over the door of the shops and houses. *Kartikeya*, god of war, and commander of the celestial armies. He is

represented riding on a peacock, with six heads, and twelve hands, in which numerous weapons are brandished. He is much invoked, particularly by pregnant women for a son, which is an object of the most eager desire in Indostan. *Agnee*, a red fat man, riding on a goat. *Pavana*, the god of the winds, and messenger of the deities. *Varuna*, the god of the waters. *Yama*, called the holy king, who judges the dead. He is represented as a green man, with red garments; his eyes inflamed, and his whole aspect grim and terrific. His court is said to be kept in the deepest recesses of the Himmaleh. Much worship is paid to this deity, and many confine their devotions to him, on the principle, that he is the only person from whom they have any thing to hope or fear. The poor Hindoos at the hour of death sometimes shriek aloud, imagining that they see the officers of Yama, in hideous shapes, approaching to carry them to his awful tribunal.

Without entering into farther details of the minor tenants of the Hindoo heaven, it may be proper to take some notice of the female powers. Pre-eminent among these is *Doorga*, who, as supreme among this class of deities, is ever represented as having had some share in the creation. This lady is the wife of *Siva*, the mother of *Ganesa*, and of *Kartikeya*. She is far from being invested with any of those soft and gentle

attributes which are usually considered as the ornament of her sex. On the contrary, her whole boast is in her strength, terror, and warlike atchievements. The Sanscrit legends are filled with tales of her wars with armies of giants, whom she discomfited, devoured their flesh, and drank their blood. Her most serious encounter was with a giant of her own name, who attacked her with a hundred millions of chariots, a hundred and twenty thousand million of elephants, and ten millions of horses, at the same time tearing up enormous mountains, and hurling them against heaven. He had thus driven all the gods out of the sky, and was on the point of destroying the universe, when Doorga interposed. To combat him, she was obliged to create innumerable beings, and even species of beings before unknown. At length she prevailed, and her entry was celebrated by the universal acclamations of the gods, who were thus restored to their original place and dignity.

Doorga is known under various names and forms, which combine with their identity a species of independent existence. Of these, the most eminent is Kali, who in valour and ferocity seems even to surpass her original. Her most celebrated combat was with the giant Rakta-vija, whom she attacked and wounded; but from every drop of blood which fell to the ground, a thousand new giants arose. Kali had no remedy but to throw

her mouth beneath the wound, and catch the blood as it dropped. Having then overcome all the giants, she sat down and devoured them. Kali's elation at this victory rose to such a pitch, that she began to dance with joy, and so violently as made the earth shake to its centre; nay, she continued this exercise, till the gods became seriously alarmed, lest the whole world should be crushed into atoms. Yet none of them durst interfere to stop her mirth; and even Siva, her husband, saw no remedy, but to throw himself beneath her feet. Brahma then ventured to hint, that she was dancing on the body of her husband; which Kali looking down and perceiving, was seized with the deepest shame, and instantly desisted. Thus Siva saved the universe; but Kali, in her images, is still represented trampling on the prostrate body of her consort.

The image of this goddess represents every thing that is frightful and hideous. It is that of a black female with four arms; her eye-brows are bloody, and the blood is streaming down her breast; she wears two dead bodies for ear-rings, and a necklace of skulls. In her hand she holds the head of a giant, and has several giants' hands strung round her girdle. While the male deities are honoured chiefly with sacrifices of rice, fruits, flowers, and milk, the blood of animals streams copiously in honour of Doorga and Kali. The

Puranas even contain directions for the performance of human sacrifices to these fair divinities. The Hindoo invokes their aid to avenge him upon his enemy; and amid the smoke of his unhallowed sacrifice, calls upon them to tear the flesh and drink the blood of the man who has injured him. Thieves are also said to address themselves to Kali, praying for success in the prosecution of their predatory undertakings.

With the exception of those identified in some shape with Doorga and Kali, the Hindoo goddesses are few in number. Lakshmi the goddess of riches, and Saraswatti, the goddess of learning, are the only two others of any importance.

The deities now enumerated may be considered the lawful tenants of heaven. But there is besides a rebel race, called the Asuras, and the Raksasas, who correspond nearly to the Giants and Titans of the Grecian mythology. But while the latter made only one grand attack on heaven, being baffled in which, they remained for ever buried beneath the mountains which they had uprooted, the Indian rebels have obliged the gods to maintain a perpetual series of hard and doubtful conflicts. Nay they have been often victorious, and have obtained temporary possession of the sky, till some lucky turn of fortune has driven them out, and restored the rightful possessors. The most huge and celebrated of these beings

was Koombha-karna, whose house is said to have been twenty thousand miles long, yet so inadequate to his dimensions, as to make it necessary to extend the bed through its whole length. Being one day allowed by Brahma to eat his fill, he ate six thousand cows, ten thousand sheep, five hundred buffaloes, five thousand deer, and drank four thousand hogsheads of spirits. It was thought he would have eaten up at last all animals, gods and men, had not Brahma caused Seraswatti to throw him into a state of perpetual slumber, from which he was only allowed to awake by short intervals. Many of these giants are described as having been kings; and probably most of their stories are wild exaggerations of the exploits of some real warriors. The conquest of them, as may have been already observed, forms the chief foundation on which the gods, and particularly the goddesses, have founded their military glory.

Besides these tenants of the celestial abodes, the Hindoo pantheon counts a number of earthly deities, whose inferior dignity is compensated by the lavish worship with which they are honoured. Of these the most noted are Rama and Krishna, who have already been mentioned under the incarnations of Vishnu. None, however, are more zealously served than Jagan-natha, commonly called Jaggernaut, to whose worship we have had

repeated occasion to allude. His main seat is at the place bearing his name in Orissa, but in every large town of Bengal there is a temple erected to his honour. His image is without hands and feet, and he is usually accompanied by his brother Bala-Rama, and his sister Soobhadra. To these deities we may add Kamedeva, "the most "beautiful creature in the three worlds," and who may be considered as the Indian Cupid.

Besides these personal deities, who are either the creation of fancy, or mortals exalted into deities, most of the visible objects of nature have worship paid to them. The sun, moon, and planets, indeed, are identified with deities, who, like the Apollo and Diana of the Greeks, have besides a separate personal existence. The Ganges, however, seems worshipped in its simple elementary character, though it has also a female deity called Ganga attached to it. There is no object to which more extensive and laborious services are paid. The Ganges is supposed to descend from heaven; the affusion, and even the sight of its waters, purify even from the most heinous sins; to die on its banks is a sure passport to a happy futurity. Hence multitudes of the poorest class resort several times in the year to that part of the river which is nearest to their ordinary habitation. When any one appears to be at the point of death, he is carried down to the bank,

where he remains exposed day and night till the catastrophe takes place. When the last moment approaches, the water is poured upon him in large streams, and often hastens the event. Mothers have even been known to sacrifice their first-born, by throwing it into these sacred waters; but this savage superstition has incurred the prohibition of the British government, in which the natives appear to have acquiesced. All the other great rivers of Hindostan have more or less of a sacred character, though none in nearly an equal degree.

Among animals, the cow is the object of the profoundest reverence, and most devout worship, throughout all Indostan. The cow is called the mother of the gods. Clarified butter is reckoned the most precious of offerings, and even the refuse of this animal is held sacred. Many keep a cow for the sole purpose of worshipping it. The poor, however, who are to make their subsistence by its labour, scruple not to work it hard and feed it cheaply. The monkey is also much honoured, chiefly in memory of Hanuman, the great coadjutor of Rama in his military exploits. The marriage of monkeys is considered as a very meritorious action, and is often celebrated with the greatest pomp. One Raja spent upwards of ten thousand pounds on an occasion of this kind. Certain birds, fishes, trees, even logs of wood, and

pieces of stone, have worship rendered to them. Books, among a learned people, were likely to be objects of veneration. An Indian worships a book, and even presents offerings, before he begins, and after he has ceased to read. A copy of the Mahabarat is considered necessary for the sanctity of a village; without which a Bramin would think it unlawful to enter it.

Besides these ideas on the subject of superior beings and the objects of worship, those respecting a future state form a prominent part of Indian mythology. Here, as in other parts of this singular system, we find a mixture of highly sublime ideas with others that are mean, absurd, and pernicious. No people appear to have formed a loftier idea of mind as a substance distinct from matter, and possessing an independent and permanent existence. They carry this indeed to an extravagant height, when they suppose the souls, not only of men, but of animals, to have been originally portions emanated from the Supreme Mind, and consequent sharers of its eternity. In pursuance of this principle, the highest destiny to which a mortal can aspire, is to be reabsorbed into the divine essence. This is sometimes mentioned as annihilation; but, according to a more probable exposition, it is a state of conscious existence and union, "where the mind reposes on "an unruffled sea of bliss." Such supreme felicity,

however, is only destined for those rigid ascetics, who have entirely withdrawn from the world, and spent their life in those various species of self-torture which attract such high veneration. The utmost height to which common good works can attain, is a place in one of the various heavens, of which each principal deity has one. These heavens are formed entirely of gold, with palaces of precious stones, glittering like suns. They are watered by crystal streams, which flow through gardens embellished with trees, fruits, and flowers, among which last the *parijatu* diffuses its odour for a hundred miles round. Continual festivals are held, enlivened by the performance of the Kinnuras, or celestial singers with horses' heads; and of the Upsaras, or female dancers, who, besides these public exhibitions, are understood in private to be so little scrupulous, that Mr Ward roundly charges them with keeping houses of ill fame in the sky. It is only a few, however, who can cherish the hope of ascending even to the lowest of these heavens; the rest have only to look to the fortune which may await them in the transmigration of souls. This celebrated dogma, which was not unknown to the Greeks, is an object of general belief in India and all the Eastern World. It does not exclude an improvement of lot, for the man of an inferior class may, by the merit of his actions, be born in that above him,

or may even become a Bramin, which is considered as exalting him to quite a different species. His sins, on the other hand, may degrade him from a higher to a lower sphere. Those, again, whose sins have been most deadly, must sink at their next birth into the brutal condition. The Indian writers have employed their fancy in devising for souls animal abodes, suited to the irregular propensities which they have indulged during life. According to the institutes of Menu, he who steals grain in the husk, becomes a rat; water, a *plava*, or diver; honey, a great stinging gnat; flesh-meat, a vulture. The stealer of a deer or elephant becomes a wolf; of carriages, a camel; of roots or fruit, an ape. According to the Puranas, he who has once sunk among the brutes, must pass through many millions of births, ere he can reascend into the human form. He must then pass through four hundred thousand births among the inferior classes, and finally, through one hundred among Bramins, ere he can hope to attain the supreme felicity of absorption. The idea of this transmigration is always present to the mind of a Hindoo, and his conversation is filled with constant allusions to it. If any one loses a child, it is concluded, that he must have injured some one's child in his former state of existence; if his eyes are put out, he is suspected of having then put out the eyes of another. If

they see a dog beaten, they remark on the enormous crimes which must have been committed in his human shape, to reduce him to a lot at once so degrading and miserable; but if he fares well, they then suppose some good works, which, though insufficient to save him from the brutal state, yet have made his condition there tolerable. If a woman is ill treated by her husband, she prays that in the next birth she may be the man, and he the wife, that she may inflict the chastisement he deserves. If a person is suffering under an accumulation of evils, he then exclaims, that the sins of many former births, of birth after birth, are falling upon him, and gives himself up to despair.

The punishment of the wicked after death is not, however, confined to this state of earthly degradation. As soon as the fatal moment is over, they are hurried 688,000 miles to the judgment-seat of Yama, situated amid the frightful rocks and snows of the Himalaya. When this terrible deity has pronounced sentence, his messengers are ready to carry the victim to his place of punishment, or hell, of which, according to the all-multiplying system of the Hindoos, there are a hundred thousand. Here also an attempt is made fancifully to adapt them to the crimes for which this doom has been awarded. The murderer is fed on flesh and blood; the adulterer is embraced

by an image of red hot iron; the unmerciful are bitten by snakes; the Bramin who drinks spirits is thrown into pans of liquid fire. In other places sinners are burnt with hot irons, pinced with hot tongs, dragged through sharp thorns, plunged through rivers of filth, bitten by animals having the faces of swine, pricked with needles. After being thus tormented for a length of time proportioned to their crimes, they are finally purified by the earthly punishment of passing a series of ages in the form of some degraded animal.

The good or evil deeds which have led to those respective destinies, are fully enumerated, and form the moral code of the Hindoos. All the branches of morality which correspond with the general sense of mankind, are, as may be observed, sanctioned by this system. The more enlightened writers even declare, that they are of more value than any ritual observances. Superstition, however, has here, as under other systems, established a number of services, independent of the purity of heart and life, which are supposed to constitute a claim to future felictiy. The nature of these will best appear from a cursory view of the religious ceremonies and modes of worship observed throughout this vast region.

The temples dedicated to the honour and service of the gods form the most obvious feature. These are not supported by the state, but are

erected and endowed by princes and other opulent individuals, either for the benefit of their souls, or out of pure ostentation. They do not possess all the splendour and magnitude which the devotional habits of the people might have led us to expect. Many consist only of one room, barely sufficient to hold the god, his utensils, and ministers. Their outward appearance is said to resemble ovens rather than temples. Such an edifice may be built for twenty pounds. The most commodious erections do not afford the deity more than three apartments, one to give audience, another to dine, and a third to sleep in. There is usually besides a covered space in front; but the dancing, singing, and other high celebrations, are most commonly performed by crowds in the open air. These temples are innumerable. A village is not considered habitable without one. They are erected even in deserts, and on the tops of mountains. Those who wish to distinguish themselves in some extraordinary manner, study to do so rather by multiplying their number, than by adding to their magnificence. Mr Ward saw a square at Chanchra, containing twenty-one temples, dedicated to as many gods. On a plain near Burdwan, the widow of a Raja had erected a hundred and eight, each containing an image of the Linga. This multifarious erection had cost 100,000 rupees, or about L. 10,000.

The maintenance of the temples, with the salaries of the Bramins, and inferior servants, are either paid by the families who erect them, or more commonly by grants of land, houses, or even villages, set aside for the purpose. The annual revenue of Jaggernaut in Orissa is supposed to be upwards of L. 10,000.

The erection of temples is only preparatory to placing in them images of the deity, to whom they are dedicated. By opulent worshippers, and for the higher deities, images are made of gold and silver, in which case the manufacture rests with the goldsmiths. Inferior descriptions consist of iron, brass, copper, and tin, and are then made by the workers in these metals. The poorer worshippers must be supplied with still cheaper divinities; these are made of clay, and the craft of god-making is then combined with that of pottery. Generally speaking, a god should weigh an ounce; and the most economical devotees are not allowed to reduce him to less than one-third of that dimension. When the image is framed, the next task is to infuse life into it. On the evening before the ceremony, twenty-two different articles, fruits, flowers, gold, silver, &c. are brought and presented to it, while the Bramin touches the forehead and other members, repeating sundry invocations, by which the deity is invited to come and take up his residence within the image. It be-

comes then the very god itself; and to entertain any doubt upon the subject, is considered a sin of the deepest dye. It may be finally noticed, that this extensive manufacture of deities, has not, as among the Greeks and Romans, led to any perfection in the art of sculpture; their images being of the rudest possible fabric.

Among the servants of the temples, the highest place is held by the sacrificing Bramins. There are also cooks to prepare food for the gods, who are supposed to enjoy keen appetites, and have no doubt assistants well qualified to make up for any deficiency. There must be a band of singers and players on musical instruments, to perform at festivals. But the most important part of the establishment consists of the dancing girls, who, like the singers, exhibit publicly in all religious ceremonies, while in private, they are bound to lead a life, to which the discourteous language of Europe has attached epithets of the deepest ignominy. These sacred courtezans are considered as peculiarly the property of the Bramins, though they are not inaccessible to any who are inclined to pay well for their favours. Devout families often think it their duty to propitiate the deities by devoting one of their daughters to this holy vocation. She is placed in the temple while yet an infant, and is carefully trained in all the arts which may fit her for her future calling, which

is considered as one honourable, both to herself and her friends. No other class of females in India are permitted to acquire any share either of accomplishments or knowledge, or may even learn to read. Such acquirements would, by the virtuous part of the sex, be considered as an indelible blot on their character. This deficiency, with the custom of marrying under age, unfits them for inspiring any strong attachment, or even for being at all companions to their husbands. These sentiments are felt almost exclusively for that profligate but accomplished class, of whom we have now been treating. During the period of their youth and beauty they are much courted, and live often in great splendour; but in old age are often neglected and reduced to want, unless when they have daughters, who are commonly dutiful in maintaining them.

The Indian books specify in the utmost detail all the ceremonies through which a Bramin is to pass in the course of a single day; but, as these occupy ten pages of Mr Ward's volume, they would probably soon exhaust the patience of the reader. The manner in which he is to sit, to eat, to perform his ablutions; all the most common functions of life, are converted into acts of religious worship. Even those actions to which, in Europe, it is considered least decorous to make any allusion, are minutely and distinctly specified. The

most laudable circumstance in this train of observances, appears to be the scrupulous regard which they imply to cleanliness. Besides these overt acts, a great part of the time of the Hindoo worshipper ought to pass in inward meditation. The most sacred of its formulas ought, it is supposed, to be mentally revolved, without the comparatively irreverent use of words. The Gayatri, already quoted, holds the first place among these texts, and is certainly of a sufficiently elevated tenor, if the habit of daily repetition does not render the mind callous to its impression. The forms of praise addressed to other deities are of a much less edifying cast. The following are the appointed musings of the devout worshipper of Siva. "His colour is like a mountain of silver; "his body shines like the moon; he has four "arms; in one hand he holds an axe, in another "a deer, with another bestows a blessing, and "with the other forbids fear; he has five faces, "and in each face three eyes; he sits on the "water-lily," &c. These thoughts being supposed to pass through the mind of the worshipper, unaccompanied by any form of words, can of course be made visible to the spectators only by an apparent air of deep abstraction from all surrounding objects. Much variation, however, is said to exist in the deportment of the different devotees; while some perform these offices with

all due reverence, others display the greatest indifference, and have their eyes wandering on all surrounding objects. This last, however, it must be owned, is not altogether without example, even in a Christian congregation.

The grandest display of Hindoo devotion is made on occasion of the festivals of the gods. The magnitude and splendour of these are not always in proportion to the dignity of the divine person in whose honour they are performed. Neither Brahma himself, nor the Supreme Mind, or Brahme, have any festivals. The Indians worship most diligently those gods with whom they suppose themselves to come into closest contact, and to have most to hope or fear. Siva, Doorga, and Jaggernaut, seem to be in this respect pre-eminent. In Bengal, the festival of Doorga is the most splendid. It continues for fifteen days, the first of which are spent in presenting offerings of the most multifarious description; earth of different kinds, and from sacred places; all the most valued fruits, plants, and flowers; the water of the Ganges, if it can be procured; and finally, goats, sheep, and buffaloes; this lady being the only Hindoo deity that delights in blood. These rites are performed by the priests and attendants in the temple only; but on the last days, the multitude rush in, and the dancing and singing commence, in the former of which every law of de-

corum is violated; while the latter, being employed to detail the most scandalous anecdotes that have circulated through the courts of the Indian heaven, have a tendency quite the reverse of edifying. "A poor ballad-singer in England," says Mr Ward, "would be sent to the house of "correction and flogged, for performing the me- "ritorious actions of these wretched idolaters."

Superstition seeks to recommend itself to the multitude, sometimes by accommodating itself to the grossness of their conceptions, sometimes by an extreme and violent opposition to them. To renounce all that the rest of mankind most eagerly covet, and voluntarily to encounter sufferings from which human nature shrinks, are everywhere modes of obtaining, among the multitude, the fame of sanctity. India, however, is the country of all others where this system of penance and self-infliction is carried to the most extraordinary extent. The high idea which its sages inculcate of the superiority of the soul to the outward frame, the impressions which they give respecting a future life, and the general propensity of the people to something marvellous, and quite out of the ordinary course of nature, combine in impelling its devotees to the most unheard-of extremes. Thus they are taught to expect that they will not only atone for all their offences, but on proceeding a little farther, will

secure a high place in some one of the Hindoo heavens, and even absorption into the divine essence. Nay these practices are supposed, by an inherent power in themselves, to exalt their observer to a power over nature, and even over the gods. The Hindoo tales are filled with examples of the *hauteur* with which their observers had treated the greatest divinities, whom they have even expelled for a time from their place in the sky. Particular mention is made of one great saint, who being waited upon at once by Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, gave each of them a kick, merely as an experiment how their respective tempers would bear such a salutation. The merit of these practices is so completely separated from a virtuous life, that they are employed by the Asoors or demons as means of enabling them to invade heaven, and involve the world in destruction. Two giants are recorded, who held their heads downwards for eight hundred years over a slow fire, and cut off all the flesh from their bones, whereby, notwithstanding some casual slips, they rose to such power, that it required all the prowess of Doorga to prevent them from attaining the empire of the universe. Indeed it appears quite impossible for the divinities of the Hindoo heaven to have maintained their place, had it not been for a large appointment of dancing girls, who, whenever any man or giant appears

to be pushing penance to an alarming height, are despatched for the purpose of seducing him into a lapse, which may throw him so far back in his holy career as to free heaven from immediate danger. If the Hindoo saints do not in real life attain this celestial sway, they are at least regarded, not only by the multitude, but by princes and the greatest kings, as a species of divinities. They are regaled with every species of homage; in reward for their contempt of the goods of this world, these goods are lavished on them; and as most of them deem a certain period sufficient for their lasting sanctification, they have ample means of spending the rest in voluptuous indulgence.

It is not, however, to suffering only, but often to death, that the votaries of this gloomy faith devote themselves. This may be considered as the greatest triumph of superstition, which India almost exclusively exhibits. Religious suicide is there inculcated and believed to be the most meritorious of all actions; and the powerful picture drawn of the rewards and punishments of a future existence, is found sufficient, in some minds, to overcome the natural love of life. The most remarkable instance in which this sacrifice occurs, is that of the widow devoting herself on the funeral pile of her husband. The reverence which the wife is taught to entertain for her

partner, her close confinement to the domestic circle, and the state of loneliness and destitution in which she is left, in a country where the laws do not allow of second marriages, are all causes prompting to this fatal deed. The Shastras declare that the female who thus devotes herself, will remain in heaven as many years as there are hairs on her head, and these are estimated at thirty-five millions. It is not usual to declare her intention till the husband has been given over by the physicians. The announcement is then made, after which she is treated by her neighbours with the greatest respect, and receives large presents. When the dreaded event takes place, she repeats her declaration, and repairs to the body, where she bathes, puts on new clothes, and has her feet painted red. The drum then beats a particular sound, by which all the village know what is to take place, and hasten to witness the spectacle. The son then erects a pile, composed of faggots, hemp, clarified butter, pitch, &c. in which the dead body, after being bathed and anointed, is deposited. The widow then, after repeating various formulas prescribed by the Bramin, walks seven times round the pile, strewing rice and cowries, and then ascends it. The son, averting his head, sets fire to the face of his father, the bystanders light the pile at different points, more faggots are hastily thrown in,

and all is soon in a blaze. Although it be generally two hours till the whole be consumed, it is not supposed that the widow can survive above two minutes. In general the victims go through the fatal ceremony with a coolness and fortitude which astonishes every spectator. A few, however, shrink when the critical moment comes, but it is then too late. They are dragged to the fatal pile, and their cries are drowned by the sound of drums and acclamations. Even those relations who have urged them against taking the desperate resolution, consider it now essential to the honour of their family that it should be duly fulfilled.

Although the above be the most remarkable, it is not the only species of religious suicide prevalent in India. We have seen in repeated instances, that of dying beneath the wheels of the cars of different deities, particularly of Jaggernaut. Many also drown themselves in the Ganges, particularly those parts of it which are esteemed peculiarly holy, as the Prayaga or junction with the Jumna, and the island of Sagur, where the Hoogly branch unites with the sea. The greater proportion of these victims are persons suffering under poverty, age, or infirmity; though some, whose situation on earth has nothing unprosperous, are impelled by the mere hope of the rewards their religion holds out. Lepers, if they

can possibly summon courage, either burn or drown themselves, believing that they will thus be born again in a sound state; whereas, in case of dying a natural death, they will be born lepers. Several forms of infanticide are also practised. Parents who have remained long childless, make a vow to devote their first-born to the Ganges. The sacrifice is not performed immediately after birth, nor till the child has attained the age of three or four years. It is then carried as if to bathe in the river, when it is either allured or pushed beyond its depth, and left floating on the stream, finally abandoned by its parents, though charitable persons occasionally take it up and adopt it. If a child refuse its breast and appear to decline, it is hung in a basket in the woods as an offering to the evil spirit; when it usually perishes or is devoured by wild beasts. In the Punjab, Guzerat, and other parts of the west of India, a race of Rajapoots, called Jehrajehs, from an unknown cause, put all their female children to death. The whole number annually sacrificed is stated variously, from three thousand to twenty thousand; the truth lying probably between these two numbers. The British government, in regard to these shocking practices, have made a laudable deviation from their usual system of avoiding all interference with the native customs. Marquis Wellesley issued a positive prohibition against the drowning of infants in the

Ganges; and the sentiments of nature so far prevailed, as to allow this order to be executed without resistance, or even discontent. In Guzerat, Colonel Walker, by a series of the most generous and persevering efforts, and after repeated repulses, succeeded in inducing the chiefs to come under an obligation to abstain from this barbarous and unnatural practice.

It is difficult to ascertain accurately the number who perish annually through this vast region under the influence of superstition. In 1803 and 1804 investigations were made relative to the number of widows who had burned themselves within a circuit of thirty miles round Calcutta. The first inquiry gave four hundred and thirty-eight; but the second, which seems to have been more careful, reduced the number to between two and three hundred. Such a number, however, within this limited space, must, when multiplied upon the whole extent of Hindostan, give a very large total. Mr Ward conceives the following estimate to be moderate:

Widows burnt alive, - -	5000
Religious suicides, - - -	500
Infanticides, - - -	500
Sick persons, whose death is hastened on the banks of the Ganges, -	500
	6500

To these he adds four thousand, whom he supposes to perish of cold, fatigue, and hunger, during their pilgrimages to the different holy places. There may be a question, however, how far these deaths may not be considered as accidental. The article of infanticide, however, seems to be much underrated.

The system now sketched may be considered in general as the established and orthodox religion of India. Many of its votaries, however, without absolute separation from it, indulge in numerous shades and varieties of worship and opinion. Most individuals, and, indeed, classes of men, select some favourite deity, on whose favour they rest their main hope, and whom they load with every species of incense. In the course of their extravagant praises they represent him as equal and superior to Brahma, and at last, as Brahma himself. In the same manner they identify him with Vishnu, Siva, and all the other gods, till finally they make him include within himself the whole universe. By far the most numerous sects are the Vishnuvites and Sivites, each devoted to the worship of their own favourite members of the Hindoo Triad. The former are specially distinguished by a coloured mark in the form of a trident made on the forehead. They consider themselves entitled by their profession to beg: and a great proportion belong to the class deno-

minated with us sturdy beggars. They travel often in bands of a thousand, expecting and receiving free quarters wherever they stop. When alms are refused or delayed, they have recourse to threats, and at last raise loud shouts, beating at the same time on a sonorous plate of brass; nay, they will even enter the house and break every thing in it. They by no means bind themselves to that rigid abstemiousness observed by the rest of their countrymen; they eat the flesh of all animals except the cow, and drink toddy, arrack, and other spirituous liquors, often very liberally. Their habits appear greatly to resemble that of the race called in this country gypsies, while less controlled than now by the regulations of police. They bear a particular respect to the monkey and the ape, nor is it safe, in their presence, to molest either of these animals.

The Sivites are externally distinguished by the image of the linga, which they carry suspended by the neck in a silver box. Notwithstanding the indecent character of this emblem, they lead a much more orderly, and even austere life, than the Vishnuvites; in this respect, indeed, they pique themselves on surpassing even the Bramins. They drink no spirits, and eat nothing that has, or that, like eggs, even can have life. They by no means adhere to the strict rules of ablution, and are accused of filth by the other

Hindoos. They consist chiefly of the better part of the class of Sudras, or labourers, and, like the Vishnuvites, put forth numerous bands of ambulatory beggars. The votaries of Vishnu predominate chiefly in Bengal; those of Siva in the coasts of the southern peninsula. These two sects regard each other with deadly enmity; and when they meet, pour out the bitterest reproaches against each other, and the gods whom they respectively worship. The Vishnuvites justly stigmatize the distinctive mark of their adversaries, while the latter hold, that they themselves will be tormented in hell with a three-pronged fork, similar to that with which their forehead is embellished. From invectives they often proceed to blows, and blood is sometimes drawn, though these contests seldom lead to a fatal termination.

Besides these public and professed sects, there are said to be secret associations of a darker character, among the initiated in which, every observance which the Hindoo accounts most holy, is trampled under foot. All the species of food and liquor which incur the heaviest prohibition, are then eagerly devoured, and debaucheries practised of the most disgraceful nature. Secrecy must always be a suspicious circumstance in such an association, yet it cannot be denied, that it often affords occasion to its adversaries to advance charges, which are suggested, or at

least amplified, by the enmity with which they regard it.

The classes now enumerated, however in some particulars they may differ from each other, remain all included within the pale of the Hindoo church. Other sects have made an entire separation, which, extending to every part of their domestic and political life, forms them as it were into a different nation. The grand rival to Brahma, is Boodh or Buddha. This personage and his religion are of such high antiquity, that several very learned persons consider them as prior even to Brahma. Boodhism, certainly, was long the predominant religion of India, being professed by its ruling powers; but a Brahminical king having mounted the throne, commenced a fierce persecution against the votaries of the rival faith, who were compelled to seek shelter in all the neighbouring regions. The consequence has been, that all traces of Boodhism have been nearly obliterated in India itself, while under its own designation, or under those of Shamanism, or the religion of Fo, it has become the ruling belief of all the north and east of Asia—Thibet, Tartary, China, Japan, and the Peninsula beyond the Ganges. The Buddhists are atheists; they do not believe in the existence of a first Cause, or Creator of the world; they conceive matter to be eternal, and its form pro-

duced by its own energy. The only objects of worship for them are human beings, whom the merit of their actions has exalted into deities. The chief of those is Buddha himself, called also Goutama, who, however, is only to reign for five thousand years, and then to be succeeded by another saint. Transmigration, and a future state of rewards and punishments, are common to this religion with that of Brahma. It is with regard to Boodhism, in particular, that the Catholic missionaries have so often repeated their lamentations, as to the difficulty of distinguishing between it and that which they came to teach. On entering, however, into the details of this complaint, we shall not find it to rest on any of the original and essential parts of Christianity, but upon those superadded to it by the Romish Church; the celibacy of the priests, the establishment of convents, the worship of images, the counting of beads, and other similar observances. Whether any of them might be derived from the Nestorian Christians, who were once pretty numerous in the east of Asia, or whether the same superstitious principle has, in both cases, assumed similar forms, may be a subject of controversy.

The *Jains*, or *Joinas*, are spread through all parts of India, though they are not numerous, unless in some parts of the southern peninsula.

Their general belief appears not to differ widely from that of the Buddhists: like them, they join in denying a supreme Creator, and absurdly represent the world to be produced from itself, as a spider draws its web out of its own bowels. The only deities acknowledged by them, are men exalted by their works to that rank. These principles, however, they combine with an austerity of observance, surpassing that even of the most rigid Bramins. They abstain religiously from animal food and spirits, and shun so carefully all the pleasures and business of life, that it seems scarcely possible for a true Jain to follow any other profession than that of a mendicant.

The *Seiks* occupy the greater part of the provinces called the Punjab, in the south-western extremity of Hindostan. Their sect was founded in 1469 by Nanaka, and seems to consist in a sort of combination between the respective tenets of the Mussulman and Hindoo faiths. The doctrine of the divine unity is held by them more decidedly than by the latter race. The minute detail of their differences would not be interesting, but some farther notice of them as a people, will be introduced in the following chapter.

Having treated thus largely of the religious system of the Hindoos, we are now prepared to form some idea of their literature. The one is entirely founded upon, and intended to illustrate

the other. The object of their serious works is to expound the doctrines and duties of religion, while their gay compositions narrate the exploits of their gods, goddesses, and deified heroes. The gods indeed are not only the subjects, but the supposed authors of these writings, scarcely one of which owns an earthly origin. The more orthodox Bramins warn their votaries against the perusal of any human composition, as leading almost infallibly into error and heresy. Even the inspired books can be duly illustrated only by inspired comments. Of all these writings, the most ancient and holy are the Vedas, which are supposed to be the production of Brahma himself; having issued at once from his four mouths. He was so careless, however, as immediately after to drop them into the bottom of the sea, and it required the mighty process of churning the ocean, to bring them up again for the benefit of mankind. Even then, the effusions of this illustrious deity were found so rude and incondite, that all the labours of Vyasa, a most learned Bramin, were required to put them into a shape fit for perusal. When arranged and methodized by this eminent person, they were immediately considered as the most precious treasure of mankind, and the source of all knowledge, divine and human. Not only all religious writers, but those who treat upon physical science, and even the

mechanical arts, profess to derive their information from the Vedas, and refer to them on every occasion. So numerous have been the glosses written upon the Vedàs, and these glosses illustrated by such large comments, and these comments so amply commented, that the Vedas themselves form only as it were the basis of an immense structure of literary composition. An awful prohibition, however, exists against their being read by any but the Braminical race, who thus seek to monopolize to themselves the approach to these only pure fountains of science. In consequence of this mysterious system, a long period elapsed before European research could obtain access even to a single text of the Vedas. It began to be doubted whether they existed, or, at least, whether any profane eye would ever be permitted to look on their sacred characters. The research of a series of distinguished British individuals has at length lifted the veil, which covered these deepest secrets of the religion and science of India. Sir Robert Chambers, and General Martine, collected some fragments; but Sir William Jones was the first who favoured the British public with a few specimens. At length Mr Colebrooke succeeded in obtaining at Benares the text and commentary of a large portion of them, and in the eighth volume of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, has communicated

such copious specimens as may enable us to form a tolerable idea of what they contain.

The four Vedas are respectively termed the Rig, the Yajush, (divided, upon a fantastic fable, into the white and black Yajush), the Sama, and the Atharva. Notwithstanding the creed of the simultaneous emission from the mouth of Brahma, the Atharva has usually been reported as of later production, and some have even supposed it not more than six hundred years old; but Mr Colebrooke suspects that this may merely arise from its being less frequently quoted than the rest.

The basis of the Vedas consists of the Mantras, or forms of prayer and praise addressed to the gods. These are immensely numerous, the Rig-veda alone containing not less than a thousand. The leading characters in every Mantra, are the Rishi or saint, by whom it is composed, and the Devata, or deity, to whom it is addressed. The latter, according to the system of Indian polytheism, are exceedingly numerous and multifarious; yet an attempt is made to preserve the principle of philosophic unity, by representing them all as the same deity, under different forms and characters. Another part of the Mantras consists of prayers; and a large proportion are supposed to have the power of charms, for the attainment of some particular object of desire. Among these are invocations of the most terrible

nature, for the destruction of enemies. The next part of the Vedas consists of the Bramhinas, comprising a series of precepts for religious rites, moral duties, and the conduct of life. In these are inculcated many useful, with many frivolous, and some immoral observances. The third part is the Upanishads, a series of treatises, in number fifty-two, attached to the Atharva Veda, and which are supposed to contain a complete exposition of the system of Indian theology. They begin with the existence of the Supreme Being, and the creation of the world, whence they proceed to the character and attributes of inferior deities, a future state, the transmigration of souls, and other doctrines, the outlines of which have already been exhibited.

The Vedas are written chiefly in verses, or rather stanzas of various measures, of which the Rigveda contains above ten thousand. The reading is allowed only to Bramins, but is strongly enjoined upon them. It is the book from which they learn to read, in the course of which practice they acquire the habit of perusing by rote, without any attention to the sense; a practice not unknown to some diligent readers in our own hemisphere. Indeed, though there are passages in the sacred books, which enjoin the understanding of the Vedas, their simple recitation is considered as securing a high degree of merit;

to enhance which they recite them in sundry artificial and mechanical modes, which place any regard to the meaning entirely out of the question. They repeat the words disjoined from each other, or alternately, backwards and forwards, so as to divest them of all signification. Copies are prepared of each Veda, expressly with a view to these learned modes of perusal.

Appended to the Vedas are the Sastras or Shastras, which profess merely to comment and illustrate them, but are in fact so constructed, as to form a complete system of worship, doctrine, and practice; they are divided into three parts, corresponding to these three respective divisions.

Second in holiness to the Vedas are the Puranas, which form, in fact, a much more extensive and popular branch of Indian literature. They are eighteen, and consist of a series of religious and poetical romances, wherein are detailed the whole history, public and private, of the Hindoo deities, whether in their transactions with each other, or their dealings with men. They describe at great length the creation of the world, the formation and generation of all the species of gods, demigods, and mortals, the military exploits of the deities, particularly of the goddesses, in their dreadful wars against the giants and cannibals; the scandalous intrigues of Vishnu and Siva, and the amours of Krishna with the sixteen

thousand milk-maids. They are interspersed also with various topics of doctrine, precept, and morality; some sound, useful, and even sublime, others altogether puerile and extravagant. They encourage the votaries of the Hindoo faith by a splendid picture of the various heavens to which good works and services to the gods may exalt them; their blooming gardens, purling streams, and glittering palaces, with the songs and dances of the beautiful damsels by whom they are enlivened. On the other hand, they give an equally glowing description of the hells to which the ungodly are doomed. The Puranas may therefore be considered as forming a pretty complete repository of Hindoo mythology, morals and poetry. They are titled respectively as follows: 1. Brahme, or the Great One; 2. Padma, or the Lotos; 3. Brahmanda, or the Mundane Egg; 4. Agni, or Fire. These four relate to the creation of the world. 5. Vishnu, or the Pervader; 6. Garuda, or the Eagle; 7. Brahma; 8. Siva; 9. Linga; 10. Nareda, son of Brahma; 11. Scanda, son of Siva; 12. Marcandeya, or the Immortal Man; 13. Bhawishya, or the prediction of Futurity. These last nine relate to the powers, attributes, and actions of the deities. The remaining five narrate the transformations of Vishnu, and his actions under the following human deified forms: 14. Matsya; 15. Voraha; 16. Kurma; 17. Va-

mena; 18. Bhagawata, or Krishna; with the exploits of which favourite divinity the series is closed. The Puranas are all in verse, and so voluminous, that they amount to nearly half a million of stanzas. This magnitude has struck with dismay our Indian scholars, who have pronounced a long life insufficient to obtain a full knowledge of the Puranas. Perhaps, however, if we consider that it forms the bulk of the poetical writing of the nation, its magnitude will not appear so very marvellous. Probably if the copious effusions of all the popular poets of the present day were collected, they would be found to extend to nearly an equal length; and if the novels and romances were included, to a much greater; so that many a young lady, in search of a passing amusement, has gone through a much more voluminous mass of writing, than these famed repositories of Indian learning.

c Second only to these holy romances are the great epic poems, of which the principal are the Mahabarat and Ramayana. These, in their general cast and complexion, differ little from the Puranas. They relate chiefly to the actions of earthly heroes; but these have such extensive dealings with the gods, and are themselves invested with so many attributes of deity, that their plot bears no resemblance to any train of human events. They are also copiously interspersed

with precepts, and with the most abstruse doctrines. They may be considered as little more than a continuation of the Puranas under a different name and form.

Throughout all these sacred letters and poems there reigns one uniform tone and spirit, widely different from what we are accustomed in these western regions to peruse and relish. A grave extravagance, an enumeration of the most idle and palpable fictions with an oracular solemnity, as if they had been truths of the most serious moment, may generally be observed. The writers seem to entertain no apprehension from the credulity of their readers, except that of not loading it with tales sufficiently ridiculous and incredible. They appear to have been the production of persons who have never been conversant with any of the lofty scenes or important business of human life, and have been confined to a mere domestic routine; but who have let loose their imagination to roam amid fairy worlds, and have rendered it familiar with the ideas of the universe, immensity, and eternity. Hence it is, perhaps, that we see so often a grotesque mixture of the most lofty with the most mean and familiar ideas. Such is that presented in the celebrated anecdote of the childhood of Krishna, when being loudly accused by the nymphs of eating their curds and milk, his

master, to ascertain the truth, caused the boy to open his mouth, wherein, to his amazement, he beheld the whole universe, with Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva sitting on their thrones. There are no doubt many passages which display a certain sort of grandeur, tenderness, and descriptive power; and allowance ought to be made for a system of belief, ideas, and imagery, so wholly foreign to ours. On the whole, however, the want of all regular concatenation of events, the wild extravagance of the fictions, and the want of any genuine grandeur, either of thought or action, must exclude them from ever taking any place in European literature, farther than as an object of simple curiosity. He who would wish an easy and agreeable mode of forming an idea of these Indian compositions, may obtain it from Mr Southey's Curse of Kehama, which is deeply impregnated with their spirit, though it contains probably a larger share of poetical beauty than any of the epic poems or Puranas.

A very rapid survey of the Ramayana may give the reader some idea of the plot of these Indian epics. It opens with one of those instances of romantic fidelity to rash promises, which occur frequently in the oriental legends. A great monarch having come under an engagement to a wife whom he tenderly loved, that lady was worked upon by a black and deformed

female slave to demand, that Rama, his favourite son, should be exiled into the depth of a remote forest. The king fulfilled the cruel obligation, but soon after died of grief. The people, unable to find Rama, and at a loss for a king, raised his shoe to the sovereignty. Meantime Rama, though a youth, was already distinguishing himself by wars against giants and monsters. All his prowess became needful, when his beloved Seeta was carried off by Ravana, the most dreadful of the Rakshasas, and the terror of the gods themselves. He would probably have found the undertaking too serious, but for his alliance with Sagriva, whom he had assisted in the destruction of Bali. The force of Sagriva, indeed, consisted solely in monkeys; but this army made up in numbers and intelligence what it wanted in the dignity of its species. Hanuman, the great monkey, was despatched as ambassador to Lunka (Ceylon), the abode of Ravana; but that recreant giant, instead of listening to his message, ordered his tail to be set on fire. Stung with pain, the suffering monkey leapt through the city, till he set every house on fire; and though he at length extinguished it by spitting on the tail, his face was burned black in the operation, in which singed state he is still worshipped throughout Indostan. In this rueful predicament he leaped back to the continent, where he strongly advised

immediate war, and that a bridge should be formed by filling up the ocean with mountains, woods, and rocks, to be thrown in by the indefatigable monkeys. Those mighty warriors, who had mustered to the number of many millions, instantly proceeded to their task, Hanuman himself loading his head, shoulders, paws, and tail, with mountains. The bridge was thus soon completed, and the whole of the frisking warriors conveyed over into Ceylon. Ravana now took the alarm, but though he cared little for Seeta, he deemed it unworthy of him to yield her to any power, mortal or immortal. He employed, therefore, Kumbakarna, a huge cannibal giant, to eat up the invaders. Kumbakarna began most zealously, taking in a thousand monkeys at each mouthful, but they immediately ran out at his nose and ears, and the reiterated blows of Rama at length felled him to the ground. Ravana behoved now to come forward in person, and maintained a terrible and long doubtful contest; but Rama, having cut off his ten heads a hundred times, and pierced him with an enchanted arrow, at length laid him at his feet. The gods at first could not credit so happy an event, and durst only ask each other in whispers; but when it was fully confirmed, a general dance of joy was set up through heaven and earth. Rama recovered his Seeta, but the joy of her restoration was deeply clouded by the difficul-

ty which occurred to him, how her virtue could have remained inviolate after being so long in the power of an amorous giant. He obliged her, therefore, to undergo a fiery ordeal, whence she came forth triumphant, and they were married; but some one taunting him as having contented himself with the mistress of a giant, he despatched her into a distant forest. He was afterwards persuaded to grant her a second fiery trial, in course of which she was snatched down to Patala. Rama soon after drowned himself in the holy waters of the Surya, and was received up into heaven.

From this hasty sketch it will sufficiently appear, that the Ramayana, in its general contexture, resembles more a fairy tale composed for the amusement of children, than the standard epic of a great and learned nation. Besides this general story, it contains numerous episodes, into which are poured a vast portion of Hindoo mythology, and the varied adventures of its heavenly tenants. The Mahabarat, the basis of which is formed by the adventures of a particular family, branches out into still more varied and desultory details. It is held also still more holy, insomuch that a village is accounted profane which does not contain a copy. The only large portion which has been translated into English, is an episode, which, under the title of

Bhagawat Geeta, contains a portion of the history of Krishna. Into this is introduced a minor episode, describing the grand process of the churning of the ocean, which is fully impregnated with all the wildness of Hindoo poetry and mythology, and may give some idea of that hyperbolical grandeur to which it sometimes rises. It begins with the description of Mount Meru.

"There is a fair and stately mountain, and its "name is Meru, a most exalted mass of glory, "reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid sur- "face of its gilded forms. It is clothed in gold, "and is the respected haunt of dews and gund- "harvas. It is inconceivable, and not to be en- "compassed by sinful man; and it is guarded by "dreadful serpents. Many celestial medicinal "plants adorn its sides; and it stands piercing "the heavens with its aspiring summit; a mighty "hill, inaccessible even by the human mind. It "is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and "resoundeth with the delightful songs of various "birds." To this lofty abode the Soors or deities of the Hindoo heaven ascended to inquire the mode of obtaining the precious juice of the Amreeta or water of immortality. After consultation between Brahma and Narayan (or Vishnu), it was directed that the ocean should be churned like a pot of milk, till its mighty waters should

have thrown up the Amreeta. The main instrument in this operation was to be another mountain, also of stupendous magnitude, called Mandar. Ananta the king of serpents, was ordered to lift it up. "Then Ananta by his power, took "up that king of mountains, together with all its "forests and every inhabitant thereof." The mountain being then placed on the back of the Great Tortoise, served as the churn, while the serpent Vasoakee was employed as the rope. The Soors seizing it by the tail, called for the assistance of the Asoors (giants and cannibals), who took hold of the head, and the two began whirling it in a furious manner. "The roar-"ing of the ocean whilst violently agitated, with "the whirling of the mountain Mandar, by the "Soors and Asoors, was like the bellowing of a "mighty cloud. Thousands of the various pro-"ductions of the waters were torn to pieces by "the mountain, and confounded with the briny "flood; every specific being of the deep, and all "the inhabitants of the great abyss which is below "the earth, were annihilated; whilst from the "violent agitation of the mountain, the great "trees were dashed against each other, and pre-"cipitated from its utmost height, with all the "birds thereon, from whose violent confrication "a raging fire was produced, involving the whole "mountain with smoke and flame, and with a

" dark-blue cloud, and the lightning's vivid " flash."

These vehement proceedings converted the whole ocean, first into milk, and then into butter, by which time the operators were reduced to a state of the most complete exhaustion, without the least appearance of the Amreeta. Narayan, however, renewed their strength, and by dint of stirring the butter, " there arose from " out the troubled deep, first the moon, with a " pleasing countenance, shining with ten thou- " sand beams of gentle light; next followed Sree, " the goddess of fortune, whose seat is the white " city of the waters; then Soora Devee, the god- " dess of crime, and the white horse, called " Oochisrava." After other similar apparitions, " the Dew Dhanwantaree, in human shape, came " forth, holding in his hand a white vessel filled " with the immortal juice Amreeta." At view of this precious prize, a furious contest for its possession arose between the Soors and Asoors. Rahoo, a mighty giant, having caught a draught, Narayan cut off his head. " The gigantic head " of the Asoor, emblem of a mountain's summit, " being thus separated from his body by the " Chakra's edge, bounded into the heavens with " a dreadful cry, whilst his ponderous trunk fell, " cleaving the ground asunder, and shaking the " whole earth unto its foundation, with all its

" islands, rocks, and forests." It was not long before the battle became general. " A dreadful " battle was commenced on the ocean's briny " strand between the Asoors and the Soors. In- " numerable sharp and missile weapons were " hurled, and thousands of piercing darts and " battle-axes fell on all sides. The Asoors vomit " blood from the wounds of the Chakra, and fall " upon the ground pierced by the sword, the " spear, and spiked club. Heads, glittering with " polished gold, divided by the Pattee's blade, " drop incessantly ; and mangled bodies, wallow- " ing in their gore, lay like fragments of mighty " rocks, sparkling with gems and precious ores. " Millions of sighs and groans arise on every " side ; and the sun is overcast with blood, as " they clash their arms, and wound each other " with their dreadful instruments of destruction. " Now the dauntless Asoors strive with repeated " strength to crush the Soors with rocks and " mountains, which, hurled in vast numbers into " the heavens, appeared like scattered clouds, and " fell with all the trees thereon in millions of fear- " exciting torrents, striking violently against each " other with a mighty noise ; and in their fall the " earth, with all its fields and forests, is driven " from its foundation ; they thunder furiously at " each other as they roll along the fields, and " spend their strength in martial conflict."

At length, however, victory decided for the Soors; the Asoors were totally routed, and sought shelter in the depths either of the earth or the ocean. The mountains and seas retired within their boundaries, and the Amreeta was delivered to Narayan, to be kept for the use of the immortals.

Besides these wild and mystic strains, the softer themes of love and pleasure have always found a large place in the poetry of the East. India, indeed, cannot boast of a rival to Hafiz; yet poems of this description form an extensive and distinguished part of her literature. They are certainly in a very different vein from the amatory poems of Europe. They display richness and warmth of fancy, combined with something artificial and sophisticated. The professions of passions, with which they are filled, breathe an enthusiasm rather studied and metaphysical, than bearing the stamp of genuine passion. They luxuriate amid flowers, gardens, balmy breezes, all the sweets and pomp of nature. They address themselves to the senses and the imagination rather than the heart. Amid all their ravings, they preserve a stately and religious character, and though decorum is often not strictly preserved, yet a veil of allegory and mystic interpretation is employed to render them fit reading for

the pious and scrupulous. A curious specimen of this class of poems is afforded by Sir William Jones in his translation of that part of the songs of *Jayádeva*, which relates to the amours of Krishna and Radha, the two brightest lights of love in the heaven of India. Krishna, however, is the most inconstant and faithless of lovers. His numberless pastoral amours gave rise to repeated quarrels with his celestial mistress. These alternating with reconciliation, give rise to a variety of scenes and incidents, which exhibit this passion under all its phases.

Dramatic writings are stated also by Sir William Jones to form a copious branch of Indian literature. A specimen has been rendered familiar to the British public in the celebrated Sakontala, a drama rude in plot and incident, but characterized by passages full of sweetness, pathos, and even occasional humour. It is stated by Sir William Jones to be only one specimen out of a vast mass of literary compositions of the same class, not much inferior in number to those which compose the dramatic literature of Europe. The fable or apologue has been always an oriental form of composition, and in this humble sphere India excels. The fables of Pilpai, or Bidpai, which have been translated into all the languages, both of the East and of Europe, where they have become a part

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 82, *line*	13,	from bottom, for	*Tartars*	read *Fathers.*
118,	2,		*instruments*	read *vestments.*
122,	13,	from top, for	*mighty*	read *nightly.*
272,	15,		dele *so,* and insert it next line after *me.*	
342,	14,		*Medea*	read *Medusa.*
405,	4,	from bottom, for	*evening*	read *morning.*

VOL. II.

139,	6,	from bottom, after *of* add *the mode of.*		
149,	5,	from top,	dele *partly.*	
212,	13,	for	*fine*	read *five.*
240,	14,		*artisans*	read *Africans.*
245,	2,		*offered*	read *afford.*
259,	12,		*entry*	read *victory.*
332,	5,		*dust*	read *dirt.*
348,	6,		*aptness*	read *openness.*
409,		lowest line,	70	read 50.

VOL. III.

120,	7,	from top, for	*second*	read *sacred.*
133,	4,		dele *good.*	
186,	6,	from bottom, for	*Arabio*	read *Asiatic.*
259,	11,		*executed*	read *excited.*
440,	6,		*Lidcle*	read *Lisle.*

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Map of Asia to front Title Page, Vol. I.
Oriens secundum Ptolemæum, Vol. I. p. 481.
Map of Hindostan, to front Title Page, Vol. II.
Western Asia, the same, Vol. III.

of the popular and standard literature, trace their origin to an Indian source.

We come now to what may be considered as the grand defect in Indian literature. None of the sciences dependent on *fact* can be considered there as having any existence. There is absolutely nothing to which it could be possible, by any figure of speech, to apply the name of history. The legends in the Puranas and sacred poems afford the only substitute; but these, in point of authenticity, rank much below the Iliad and Odyssey. They relate more to the affairs of heaven than earth; and though the giants, and even the gods, are conjectured with probability to have been kings or chiefs, who acted a prominent part in Indian history, it is impossible to trace any precise period or event through the exaggerated veil of poetry and mythology. The little knowledge, therefore, which we possess of the early history of India, as well as of Persia, is derived exclusively from Mahometan writers. Geography is almost in a state of similar infancy. Major Wilford, who has studied it so deeply, declares, "These works, whether geographical or histo-"rical, are most extravagant compositions, in "which little regard indeed is paid to truth. "They seem to view the globe through a prism, "as if adorned with the liveliest colours. Moun-"tains are of solid gold, bright as ten thousand

" suns; and others are of precious gems. Some " of silver, borrow the mild and dewy beams of " the moon. There are rivers and seas of liquid " amber, clarified butter, milk, curds, and intoxi- " cating liquors. Geographical truth is sacrificed " to a symmetrical arrangement of countries, " mountains, lakes, and rivers."

This has not prevented Major Wilford from endeavouring to find in the Indian books a full description of the known world, including the remotest extremities of the west. Here, however, the learned writer appears to have given full reins to his own fancy; nor have I been able to discover any resemblance between the passages quoted by him and the countries which he supposes them intended to describe. The real knowledge of these writers appear confined to Indostan and the countries which most closely border upon it. Chronology, equally destitute of real principles, is formed into a system utterly extravagant, and replete with the wildest exaggeration. The age of the world is extended to about four millions of years. This period is divided into four ages or Yugs, a division to which something is found correspondent in Grecian mythology. The first, or the *Satya-Yug*, called the age of innocence, is supposed to have endured for the long space of 1,728,000 years. After this the Indian ages, like the Greek, declined

always from worse to worse. They became also of shorter duration. The second or *Treta-Yug* lasted 1,296,000 years; the third or *Dwipa-Yug*, 864,000; lastly came the *Kali-Yug*, or the age of misery, a character generally applied by man to that under which he now lives. Of this *Yug* only a small portion has yet elapsed, the present year (1820) being the year 4921 of the *Kali-Yug*. The commencement falls thus almost precisely on 3100 A. C. and coincides nearly with the era of the flood. It is destined to endure for more than 432,000 years.

The mathematical sciences have been often found to flourish peculiarly under an absolute government; and among people devoted to business and the pursuits of gain, certain branches of them could scarcely be overlooked. The present system of arithmetical notation, beyond a doubt the simplest and most convenient of any, has, in Professor Leslie's learned work on the History of Arithmetic, been clearly traced to a Sanscrit original. Algebra also has been long cultivated to a great extent among the Hindoos. Specimens are afforded by abstracts or translations of the works entitled *Bija Ganita* and *Lilavati*; whence it appears that some progress has even been made in the indeterminate analysis, which was never till lately carried to a great extent in Europe. It has been supposed that the Arabians borrowed

their Algebra from the Greek treatise of Diophantus, and the Hindoos from the Arabians; but Mr Strachey observes, that no one has ever found in the East a translation of Diophantus, and that the oriental processes are quite different from his. He adds, that the learned Mussulmen in Hindostan generally consider the Hindoos as the inventors of this abstruse and interesting department of science. In astronomy their eminence has been represented as much more remarkable. They have tables commencing with the *Kali-Yug*, or 3100 years before the Christian era; the authenticity of which has been strongly maintained by M. Bailly in his *Histoire de l'Astronomie*, as well as by our own illustrious countryman Mr Playfair. The investigations of Laplace, however, and of the most eminent recent inquirers, seem to have decided that these tables were calculated backwards at a much more recent period, and that it is even impossible to say how modern they may be. This subject is treated so learnedly and fully in Mr Mill's History of India, that we may confidently refer to it those who may wish for more copious information. It is certain, that the science is now cultivated in Hindostan, solely with a view to astrology, and the calculation of eclipses; that this calculation is carried on by mechanical rules, without any idea of the principles upon which they depend;

that the instruments employed are rude in the extreme; and that the astronomer is unable to calculate with perfect accuracy, and considers himself fortunate if his prediction make even a near approach to the truth.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL VIEW OF HINDOO SOCIETY.

Moral Character.—Distinction of Casts, and peculiarities of each. —Mahrattas.—Pindarees.—Seiks.—Nairs.—Mahommetan Population.—Syriac Christians.—Syriac Jews.

AMONG the nations of the East, the native Hindoos have excited a peculiar degree of wonder and interest. The companions of Alexander, the first Europeans by whom they were visited, beheld in them with astonishment, a people bearing no resemblance to any encountered in their previous career. Every successive conqueror and visitor found the same people, unaltered by all the series of revolutions which had shaken their country. Yet though often seen, they could scarcely be considered as known. Their shy, austere, and quiet deportment, their disdain and indifference to all foreigners, and the difficulty of obtaining a key to their language and institutions, rendered it scarcely possible to see any thing beyond the polished and uniform exterior. Now, however, the establishment and continued exercise of a British administration in India, has ne-

cessarily forced the natives into closer contact with our countrymen; and that spirit of learned inquiry, which the deepest recesses of Indian science have been unable to elude, has also removed the veil in a great measure from their manners and social existence.

The first impression made upon Europeans, by the view of this great people, was in a great degree favourable. The delicacy of their form and figure, their polished and flattering address, the absence of all bustle and turbulence, joined to the display of pomp and wealth in their courts, gave the idea of a refined and elegant people. It appeared even that they had arrived at the extreme point of civilization, that they might be branded indeed as effeminate and unmanly, but were strangers to the vices and disorders which characterize barbarous life. Philosophers and orators who wished to excite the indignation of mankind against the violences committed by the Europeans in India, have sought to make it appear more atrocious by the innocent and unoffending character of the sufferers. The result of a close inspection has been much less favourable. It is stated, that this smooth and flattering exterior, indicates not any real humanity, but merely that servile and interested courtesy, which long habits of slavery generate; that entire selfishness forms the basis of their character; and that under this smiling exte-

rior, coarseness and brutality, and even a proneness to acts of violence, may soon be perceived. It must be observed, indeed, that their dealings with Europeans, whom they must detest as foreign invaders, and from whom they have experienced numberless acts of individual violence, cannot afford the most favourable light in which to contemplate them. The representation, however, is made by so many candid and philanthropic pens, that it seems impossible to consider it as wholly unfounded.

It is an observation as old as Homer, that the hour which makes a man a slave, takes away at least half his value; a sentence to which the experience of mankind has given an always increasing weight. Now the Hindoos suffer beneath a weight of subjection heavier than perhaps ever weighed upon any people. "Despotism," says Mr Grant, "is not only the principle of the go-"vernment of Hindostan, but an original, irre-"versible, and fundamental principle in the very "frame of society." Besides the absolute sway of the sovereign, the whole population is composed of a series of classes, each of which scarcely acknowledges a common nature with those beneath it. India having, moreover, for a long series of ages been ruled by the sword of foreign nations, who have never in any degree amalgamated with the natives, all spirit of national inde-

pendence has inevitably become extinct. To this we may add the influence of a religion, which, though not a stranger to the principles of moral retribution, affords deities who are likely to be the indulgent patrons of any vice to which their votaries may be prone. The result of these causes seems to be the most complete selfishness, set loose from every restraint of honour or principle. As this propensity cannot find its gratification in political power or distinction, it fixes itself wholly in the love of money, which may be considered the supreme idol of the Hindoos. In using the means of attaining it, they are described as unscrupulous to a degree of which no idea can be formed by an European. Throughout all India there is said to be scarcely such a thing as common honesty. Breaches of the most solemn contracts, which among us would rouse public indignation as deeds of unheard of villany, excite here neither surprise nor indignation, even in the sufferer. He considers them as natural evils, which were, indeed, to be guarded against by accumulated pledges and securities, but against which he could have expected no other protection. It is a game which they have constantly to play with each other. The disregard of truth is, if possible, still more uniform and systematic. When discovered, it causes in like manner no surprise to the one party, or humiliation to the

other. Even when they have truth to tell, they seldom fail to bolster it up with some appended falsehoods. "It is the business of all," says Sir John Shore, "from the Ryot to the Dewan, to "conceal and deceive; the simplest matters of "fact are designedly covered with a veil, which "no human understanding can penetrate." This incurable system of lying manifests itself in a form from which the superstitious habits of the nation might have been supposed to have guarded them; that of the most deliberate perjury. What are the nature of the oaths administered by our Indian courts, and whether they be adjusted with sufficient care to the prejudices and local feelings of the witnesses, are points on which I have not been able to gain very precise information. The prevalence of this crime, however, is so universal, as to involve the judges in the most extreme perplexity. "The honest men," says Mr Strachey, "as well as the rogues, are perjured." Even where the real facts are sufficient to convict the offender, the witnesses against him must add others often notoriously false, or utterly incredible, such as in Europe would wholly invalidate their testimony; but, Mr Strachey says, if witnesses were to be rejected for having been guilty of the most flagrant perjury, no criminal could ever be convicted.

Humanity and benevolence are qualities which the advocates of the Hindoos have been accustomed to claim as peculiarly their own. It is certain that these reign in their religious precepts; and that the observance of them is strongly inculcated, not only towards their fellow men, but even in an extravagant degree towards the brute creation. These injunctions, however, it is asserted, are observed, rather with a mechanical adherence to the letter, than with any genuine impression of the sentiments which they breathe. The cow is not killed, but she is often beaten unmercifully; and if alms are bestowed, it is done rather under the hope of buying heaven, than from any genuine feeling for the unfortunate. A propensity to cruelty appears clearly in their punishments, which are often of the most shocking description. The cutting off of legs, hands, noses, the putting out of eyes, and other similar mutilations, are familiar, and performed in the coarsest manner. There prevails, indeed, among all ranks a politeness and urbanity much beyond what is observable in European society. This is said, however, to be greatly confined to superiors, and those from whom they have something to hope or fear. In the interior of villages and of families, the most deadly enmities reign, and are openly avowed. Personal conflicts, whether from fear or prudence, occur very rarely; but scolds

are frequent, and are carried on with an unmeasured fury of invective, to which a parallel can scarcely be found. I am sorry to add, that, according to Mr Grant, the fair sex make upon such occasions a particularly conspicuous display.

Nothing tends more to call in question the mildness of the Hindoo disposition, than the vast scale of the practice of *decoity*. This term, though essentially synonymous with robbery, suggests, however, very different ideas. With us, robbers are daring and desperate outlaws, who hide themselves in the obscure corners of great cities, shunned and detested by all society. In India, they are regular and respectable persons, who have not only houses and families, but often landed property, and much influence in the villages where they reside. This profession, like all others, is hereditary; and a father has been heard from the gallows, carefully admonishing his son not to be deterred by his fate from following the calling of his ancestors. They are also very devout, and have placed themselves under the patronage of the goddess Kali, revered in Bengal above all other deities, and who is supposed to look with peculiar favour on achievements such as theirs. They are even recognized by the old Hindoo laws, which contain enactments for the protection of stolen goods, upon a due share being given to the magistrate. They seldom, however, commit

depredations in their own village, or even in that immediately adjoining, but seek a distant one, where they have no tie to the inhabitants, and are less likely to be recognized. They are formed into bands with military organization, so that when a chief dies there is always another ready to succeed him. They calculate that they have ten chances to one of never being brought to justice. The difficulty of conviction in the English courts, the dread which witnesses, ever ready to perjure themselves, entertain of their vengeance, and the almost inaccessible jungles and obscure retreats in the higher parts of the province, afford ample means of escape.

A band of decoits setting out on an expedition, press into their service all who appear likely to be useful, making them at least carry torches or bundles. On refusal they are threatened with beating, or even death. It is impossible to describe the crimes and barbarities of which they are guilty. Besides wounding with spears, it is common to apply bamboos to the back and chest, drawing them with twisted strings like a vice, until the person is breathless, and sometimes the breast bone or ribs are broken; to put chilly powder (Cayenne pepper) into the eyes, mouth, nose, and ears. They are much encouraged by the cowardice of the natives, who, at the first appearance of a band of decoits, seek safety in

flight, or if that fails, in unconditional submission. They are even afraid to give any aid in their detection, the decoits threatening in that event the most dreadful vengeance. An instance is given of a Sirdar or chief, who, after having carried off some leading men in a village, stepped out into the street with an earthen pot in his hand, calling aloud, "If any one tells that the "four goyenndahs were taken away, I will tie "this pot round his neck, and drown him; I "will cut him, and his wives, and children, to "pieces. I am Moolea; you know me, and you "know that I will be as good as my word." It is impossible not to regret that this system should have risen to its present height, chiefly in consequence of the introduction of the British system of laws. The rude Zemindary police, and the summary justice executed in the native courts, were, it appears, better fitted to keep in awe those fierce spirits, who find much more ample means of evasion in the mild and cautious procedure of a British tribunal.

Domestic life may be considered as the habitual sphere of the Hindoo, and that in which he constantly moves. Marriage, as its basis, is quite universal. "Every body marries," says Mr Strachey, "it is a necessary part of life." A man at twenty-five, and a female at fifteen, unmarried, would be considered as the most extraordinary phenomena.

Marriage, says M. Dubois, is to a Hindoo the great, the most essential of all objects. A man who is not married is considered as a person without establishment, and scarcely as a member of society. He is consulted on no great affairs, nor employed in any important trust. For a girl, the usual age of marriage is between seven and nine; a marriage beyond the last period is considered as a very late one. She remains then for a few years in her father's house, till she is considered fit to go home. The Hindoo, economical in his usual habits, sets no bounds to the splendour of his marriage festival, and often expends upon it a great part of the fortune accumulated by a life of penury. These festivals last for several days, and consist of numberless observances, every one of which has a superstitious origin. The respect paid to the females in the state of marriage does not correspond to that in which the state is held. Every idea of their being companions to the husband is out of the question, as it would be considered the deepest reproach in them to know any thing, or to be able to read or write. The husband who ever enters into familiar conversation with his wife, is despised even by herself, and reproached with following the despicable customs of the Frank or European. She is not even admitted to eat with him; and the Indian books inculcate, in the most awful

terms, the religious veneration with which she ought to view him. Let him be crooked, aged, deaf, blind; let him be choleric, dissipated, a spendthrift; let him even commit actions which render him infamous; none of these things ought to diminish his value in her estimation. In every stage of life it is said she is created only to obey; and ought constantly to have her eyes fixed on her master, to be ready to receive his commands. She is particularly exhorted to be quiet and listen; and in return for the most injurious language, to give nothing but calm and soothing words. Nor is she subject to the sway of her husband only, but also of her mother-in-law, who forms usually a part of the family; and considering her as a purchased slave, expects the most implicit obedience. This double yoke sometimes becomes so severe, that the unfortunate wife flies back to her own family; when the husband or mother-in-law, who have no idea of a household without a wife, are obliged to go and solicit her return. In the event of the husband's death, if the widow declines the glorious part of burning herself on the funeral pile, she must at least remain for ever unmarried. To mention to herself or her friends the idea of a second marriage, would be considered as the most deadly of insults; and if she ever ventured on such an enormity, she would become at once an outcast from her relations,

and from all society. On the other hand, the husband, on the death of his wife, loses not a moment in chusing a second partner.

In regard to the moral principles which regulate the intercourse of the sexes, a considerable diversity of statement prevails. Mr Grant and Mr Ward represent dissoluteness in this respect as very general; while M. Dubois seems inclined to give the Hindoo, in this respect, a preference over the natives of Europe. The married females lead a very retired and recluse life in the interior of their household, and when at any time they appear abroad, it would be considered disgraceful, even in the most dissolute men, to offer them the slightest insult, or even to look at them. This austere outward decorum does not, it is said, always prevent clandestine intrigues; but, upon the whole, it seems agreed, that the department of this class of the population is far from being subject to much reprehension. In other quarters the same purity does not prevail. The most culpable feature consists in the combination of dissolute ideas and practices with the observances of religion. The exhibitions made at their sacred festivals are, in fact, often such as even the most profligate European society would be ashamed to witness. Still less justifiable is the devotion to the service of the temples of a class of females, understood to sacrifice what is elsewhere con-

sidered as the first duty of their sex. The Hindoo writings also, even on the most sacred subjects, abound with the most indecent allusions, and do not discover the least idea of what Europeans term delicacy. It is alleged, however, by their advocates, that this language and these exhibitions being covered by allegorical interpretations, and associated with solemn objects, do not excite the same ideas which we are accustomed to attach to them. It is added, that no virtuous woman being supposed ever to open a book, or attend the public service of the temples, there is not the same necessity as in Europe, to avoid every thing by which female modesty could be wounded.

The most prominent feature, after all, in India is the institution of *cast*, which is still maintained in its pristine vigour. The casts, more numerous in the age of Alexander, are in modern times reduced to four: the Bramins, or priesthood; the Kshatryas, or military; the Vaisyas, or merchants; and the Sudras, or labourers. Amid all these classes, the Bramins hold a high and indisputed pre-eminence; they are revered almost as deities; their manners and institutions give the tone to Hindoo society. Their rank is not supported, however, by hereditary fortune, office, or salary. Their subsistence, therefore, ought to be procured altogether by begging; an

employment which, far from being attended with any disrepute, has, in this country, the highest dignity and nobility attached to it. The person who receives charity, according to Dr F. Buchanan, is invariably considered in India as of higher rank than him who gives it. Cooking is also considered an employment distinctive of the highest ranks. As no one can eat victuals cooked by any one of a cast inferior to his own, the cook to a large assembly must be at least equal to any there present. When the donations of the faithful become scanty, many of the Bramins are obliged to betake themselves to what is called in Europe an honest trade. But though they do not thus actually lose cast, they are considered as decidedly inferior to that more elevated class, which subsists solely on alms. As the measure of these mainly depends upon the reverence in which the individual, or the temple to which he belongs, is held, the Bramin exhausts every art in order to exalt these objects of veneration. That dissimulation, which is generally characteristic of Hindoos, is carried by this class to the highest possible pitch. A Bramin, according to the description given to M. Dubois by one of their own number, "is an ant's nest of lies and impostures." They relate long stories of miracles performed at the shrine of their favourite divinity; and they distribute charms, which are to secure to their

credulous votaries all the goods of life, and defend them against all its evils. They inculcate with peculiar earnestness the benefits which are to spring, both in this life and the next, from gifts bestowed upon Bramins. The permission to offer them, is held out as a privilege of which the highest classes may be proud; yet it is at the same time charitably indulged to the lowest. At all the public religious festivals, as well as the private ones of marriage and burial, the rich place their glory in making large presents to these sacred persons. Cows, land, gold, cloth, and grain, are the articles, the bestowal of which is considered peculiarly meritorious.

Although the character of Bramin is not in itself synonymous with that of priest, there is a class of them called Gurus, who by general consent are invested with spiritual jurisdiction. The name is synonymous with *master;* and the Guru in fact not so much a minister as a ruler of the church to which he belongs. He never appears in public unless attended with the greatest pomp. He is seated in a palanquin, or on the back of an elephant, and is often escorted by an armed body. The procession is accompanied by bands of musicians, flags adorned with the pictures of their gods, criers singing their praise, and large troops of dancing girls. In this array they make frequent rounds of their diocese, imposing on their

flocks such contributions as they judge them in a condition to pay. The reward of compliance is the benediction of the Guru, which is supposed to secure to the receiver all the goods of life. On the refractory is hurled his curse, which strikes terror even into the boldest heart. Their votaries report continually the dreadful consequences which have followed from it; that it has struck men dead on the spot, and made pregnant women miscarry; effects which may really have been produced by superstitious panic. They add, that it has converted men into stones, or even into hogs. These deeds, however, are performed only by the greatest Gurus, besides whom there is an inferior class who are subject to them, composing a species of regular hierarchy.

Next in importance to the Gurus are the Purohitas, or directors of religious ceremonies. As every thing here is under the influence of superstition, and there are good or evil times and ways of saying and doing every thing, the aid of these persons becomes necessary on all the great occasions of life. The ceremonies of marriage and burial; the building of new houses, wells, or tanks; the purification and consecration of temples; must have their period and mode regulated by the Purohitas. For this purpose these Bramins must possess certain branches of knowledge. They must be able to calculate eclipses and the

place of the planets, and must keep registers of lucky and unlucky days. But their most powerful instrument is the *Mantras*, or "mighty "words," which have power to excite love or hatred, to cure diseases, to cause or avert death; and whose awful summons the gods themselves are constrained to obey. It is a boast sometimes made, that the universe is under the power of the gods, the gods of the Mantras, and the Mantras of the Bramins; so that these last are placed as it were at the head of the universe. The Purohitas, by carefully concealing these recondite branches of science, monopolize a large portion of respect and profit. There is scarcely a prince or great man, who has not a Purohita in constant attendance, to decide on all his movements, even when he is to pay or receive visits, to go a-hunting, or to take a walk. The royal elephants must have a similar service performed to them. The Bramins extract money from their dupes also by predicting the weather, telling fortunes, distributing amulets for the cure of sickness, and for averting the evils of life.

The second Hindoo class is the military order of Kshatryas, or Rajeputs. The terms signify kings and sons of kings; and in fact, during the days of Hindoo independence, the sovereigns were taken out of this tribe. In personal qualities they are strikingly superior to other natives, and

scarcely surpassed by any other race on the globe; tall, handsome, vigorous, and athletic. They possess also loftiness and energy of character; they are brave, active, hardy, and cherish a high sense of military honour. They are equally destitute of principle, however, as the rest of their countrymen, fight merely for pay and plunder, in the pursuit of which they will not spare, it is said, even their native village. Being averse, however, to all discipline and castigation, they enter with reluctance into the British service; and crushed at once by foreign ascendency, and the power of the Mahrattas, are now in a very depressed state. Yet they still compose several independent states in the peninsula of Guzerat, and the inhabited parts of the great Western Desert.

The two lowest classes of the Vaisyas and the Sudras, are those for whom the Hindoo institutions destine those arts and trades which provide for the subsistence and convenience of mankind. Authors do not seem fully agreed as to their distinct provinces. Some represent the Sudras as devoted solely to agricultural labour; but the fact appears to be, that all manual trades and works are considered within their department, while traffic appears to be the proper profession of the Vaisyas. Although in the Hindoo books the precedency is assigned to the latter, the Sudras in practice do not fully recognize the pre-

eminence; and having become in many districts the most wealthy and thriving, claim also a superiority in rank which the public are willing to recognize.

All the classes now enumerated, however they may differ in dignity, have a recognized and respectable place in the social system. As this place, however, is maintained only by the most rigid adherence to a series of minute and painful observances, the loss of cast is frequently incurred, and involves an exclusion from all the benefits and charities of life. The sufferers from that moment are viewed by their nearest friends as things utterly odious and abominable. Their posterity being involved in the same proscription, this outcast class has multiplied under the prevailing name of Pariahs, and is supposed by M. Dubois to constitute now a fifth of the population of India. Their fate varies in different parts of the empire; but it is on the Malabar coast, where the native aristocratic institutions subsist in their greatest vigour, that man has been reduced by his fellow man to the deepest degradation. The Nair considers himself polluted by the touch, or even by the near approach of those unfortunate beings; and in such a case holds himself entitled, and even bound to kill him on the spot. They are, therefore, obliged to skulk in obscure corners; and when moving about, to cry continually

with all their might, that warning may be given to those whose sacred persons would be polluted by their presence. They acquire by this practice an almost Stentorian power of voice. They are commonly seen in the highway in parties of eight or ten "howling like hungry dogs," and thus endeavouring to excite the passenger to relieve them, by depositing victuals at a little distance, which, at his departure, they may come and devour. In other parts of India they meet greater toleration. They are there employed as scavengers, or in the roughest part of agricultural labour. Sometimes even they may enter the outhouses, and take care of the cattle; nay, there are instances in which the Pariah may introduce the head and one foot into the chamber of his master. In every case, however, he who enters the house of a Pariah, or tastes any victuals prepared by him, is driven from his cast and from society, and reduced to share the deplorable condition of him to whom he has thus assimilated himself. The disgrace thus stamped on these unhappy men has produced its inevitable effect of destroying all that is respectable in their character. Besides carrying to extreme the disregard to every principle of honesty, they abandon themselves to sensual excesses, and particularly to intoxication, to which the other Hindoos are strangers. They render themselves also more and more odious to

the purer classes by their filth, and by eating indiscriminately all kinds of food, even that of animals that have died of disease. The quarters in which they live present a disgusting spectacle from the heaps of dust there accumulated, and the lumps of carrion hung up to be dried in the sun.

These general outlines of Hindoo society undergo various modifications as to belief and practice as well as name, according to the local situations in which they exist. In the south of India particularly, which has always been split into a number of petty states, the varieties are almost infinite. Those existing in the Mysore are traced by Dr Buchanan with a minute fidelity, which our limits do not permit us to follow. The general distribution is also crossed and split by several others not recognized in the sacred books, but generally prevailing, at least among the inferior classes. Such is that of the Vishnuvites and Sivites, particularly noticed in the former chapter. In the south of India there is a division into the right and the left hand, founded on certain minute ceremonial rites and observances. This distinction, when its privileges appear to be at all invaded, gives rise to the most furious contests, which usually terminate in bloodshed. The Hindoo resigns, without a struggle, all his natural rights and privileges; but he will brave every

form of death in defence of the privilege of wearing pantoufles, of bearing before him flags of certain colours, and of riding in a palanquin to his marriage.

Independent of these general shades and varieties in the frame of Hindoo society, there are large portions entirely broken off, and forming properly nations by themselves. This separation has arisen either from original situation, or some particular train of political events. In the late disorganized state of the empire, the numbers and power of these tribes rapidly increased, till they acquired a decided predominance among the native states. The most remarkable are the Mahrattas, the Pindarees, the Seiks, and the Nairs.

The race which, above all others, acts now a conspicuous part on the political stage of India, is the MAHRATTAS. This people, who, but for British interposition, would probably have at this moment been masters of India, are still the only powerful rivals with whom we have to contend. The Mahrattas, in regard to cast, do not rank with the Kshatryas or Rajepoots, the hereditary soldiers of Indostan. Their place is decidedly lower, yet still so far raised above the meanest classes of Hindoos, that there exists no bar against their communicating with Bramins. This middle

station, which enables them to treat alike readily with the highest and lowest Hindoos, has greatly contributed to the success of their undertakings. They may lawfully, too, eat every species of food, animal and vegetable, beef only excepted; fowls and onions are particularly esteemed, but their common food consists in a coarse grain called *dhourra*. The national ignorance has rendered it necessary to fill all the civil departments of the state with Bramins, who, by their address, information, and skill in managing pecuniary affairs, have now rendered themselves leading persons at all the Mahratta courts.

The original seat of the Mahrattas was in the north-western part of the peninsula of the Decan, consisting of the province of Khandeish, with part of Berar, and Aurungabad. This territory, including the loftiest part of the Vyndhia mountains and the western Ghauts, is of very uncommon natural strength, being every-where interspersed with mountains and defiles, which are defended by forts, and cannot be penetrated without extreme difficulty by an invading army. The Mahrattas first began to make a figure in Indian history under the reign of Aurengzebe, when their chief Sevaji daringly erected the standard against that powerful ruler of Indostan. They were never able, indeed, to make head in the open field; yet even Aurengzebe judged it more

prudent to endure their occasional incursions, than to attempt to follow them into their defiles and fastnesses. After the decline of the Mahommedan power, the Mahrattas descended from their hills, and rapidly extended their dominion over India. After having conquered nearly all the south, they directed their arms into the central seat of empire. They obtained possession of Agra; but they had now to encounter the force of Ahmed Shah, the king of Caubul, who gave them, in the battle of Panniput, so decisive an overthrow as entirely checked their progress. The empire also in its extension lost its unity, a number of separate chiefs setting up an independent power, till that of the Peishwa, the original head, was reduced almost to insignificance. The chief of the branches was Mahajee Scindia, who, by the aid of Boigne, Perron, and other French officers, formed a corps of about 20,000 infantry, disciplined after the European manner, constituting the most formidable force ever organized by a native Indian prince. This Mahratta power, notwithstanding occasional checks, soon became predominant, and after the fall of Tippoo, was alone in a condition to contend with Britain for the mastery of India. These two rival states were not long of entering into a contest, which proved fatal to Mahratta ascendency. In a series of triumphant campaigns, under Wellesley and Lake,

the flower of their troops was annihilated, the rest entirely routed and dispersed, and their princes, the Peishwa, Scindia, and Holkar, reduced to a tributary and dependent condition. They continue, however, to bite the curb, and are ever prepared, should occasion offer, to erect anew the standard of independence.

The Mahratta state considers itself as in a regular state of war, and no year passes without a campaign. At the conclusion of the north-west monsoon, the *jhoonda*, or great ensign of the prince is hoisted, the tents are pitched, and a camp formed. Their destination is then announced; either war against an open enemy, to make plundering excursions into the neighbouring territories, or even to collect the public revenue. In forming a camp, the first flag raised is that of the prince, then those of the different bazaars, which form ranges of shops running in parallel lines from front to rear. The chiefs then rear their ensigns on each side of the bazaar, wherever each can find a place, where men, horses, and cattle, are all jumbled promiscuously. The troops consist entirely of horsemen, "who "have no home but the camp, no hope but pay and "plunder." The *sillaudur*, or horse proprietor, hires his men to the chief at a certain rate, and on a system so entirely mercenary, that extensive sillaudurs have often troops in the service of op-

posite and hostile chiefs. The stipulated allowances are sufficiently liberal; but the payment is exceedingly irregular; and to give even half of their annual stipulated pay, is considered almost a miracle. The trooper has recourse to the most desperate modes of levying his arrears. His main engine is the reverence attached in India to the operations of *dherna*, which is laid on debtor and creditor alike, who must remain fixed in their position without eating, drinking, washing or praying, till an accommodation be made. It may be laid on prince and minister alike, without being considered any breach of subordination, all the army joining as one man to enforce the authority of *dherna*. Mr Tone calculates that the chiefs pass half their time under its influence. Sometimes the creditor appears bearing on his head an enormous stone, which must in a short time crush him to death, but which he refuses to take off till satisfied. At other times, he brings an old woman, commonly his mother, and having erected a pile, places her upon it, professing his purpose to set instant fire to it, unless satisfaction be given. In either case should the threatened catastrophe arrive, the debtor would be considered as the murderer, and subjected to deadly penalties. This constant clamour of his followers for pay, drives the prince to strange shifts in order to provide it. The office of dewan or prime minister is regular-

ly sold to the highest bidder, and that officer is left to replace his principal with a profit by every kind of oppression. A regular system of venality and extortion is thus established, which descends at last to the ryot or cultivator; and combined with the habits of plunder, has almost entirely ruined agriculture in the districts subject to or traversed by the Mahrattas; a fatal change, attested by the frequent and destructive famines under which they have suffered.

A Mahratta army in motion forms a vast and encumbered body, in which the number of followers is three times that of the fighting men. This does not cause any difficulty of subsistence, although they have no idea of a commissariat, or of any arrangements for provisioning the army. It is attended by crowds of corn merchants, who proceed in front, collect the necessary quantity, and retail it at a moderate advance on the current rate. All other commodities are sold in the bazaars, the dealers being only liable to a *dustoor* of five rupees per month; on disbursement of which sum also, a proper allowance of thieves and dancing girls are permitted to accompany the march. The greatest license prevails; the female attendants even of the greatest ladies have a certain proportion of time to ply such adventures as the camp may afford; nor do they hesitate, even in presence of their mistresses,

to boast of the presents which they have received from their paramours. As the army moves, every imaginable mode is adopted of laying the country under contribution. In passing a village, the chief claims, as of right, a sheep and rupee for every gun; to which general demand he seldom fails to make some special addition. Bullocks and carts are pressed for the service of the army; and during the day the troops spread themselves on all sides to cut down forage, without any sanction from the proprietors, who often furiously assemble, and cut off stragglers. The Mahratta army avoids if possible coming into close action, and prefers wearing out its enemy by a desultory and plundering warfare. Even the soldier, though by no means devoid of bravery, always prefers a retrograde movement to one in advance. He dreads losing his horse, the sole foundation of his fortune and place in the world; so long as he retains which, whatever disaster may befal the army to which he is attached, he will have no difficulty in finding pay and a master.

ANOTHER race, who, amid the fall of the other native powers, have recently started into notice, are the PINDAREES. Their name first occurs in the Mahratta annals, as forming a loose and irregular appendage to their armies. Fifteen thousand of them are said to have been engaged at

the battle of Panniput. They differ essentially, however, from the Mahrattas, particularly in their faith, which is that of zealous Mahometans, and they consider as strangers all of any other sect whom they admit into their number. Plunder, by the Mahratta states, has been always viewed as a regular mode of enriching themselves and extending their power; but to the Pindarees, it is "their being's end and aim." India contains in every quarter casts of regular and hereditary robbers; but none on so great a scale as these. They occupy that region of mountains and defiles which lie along the north of the Nerbuddah. Their force consists entirely of cavalry. The horses are small, but hardy and active; and, without any idea of scientific horsemanship, they have them completely trained for the expeditions in which they are to be employed. Although every object of theft is welcome, that of a horse is peculiarly precious. They have been known to carry off one even from the best guarded piquets. To achieve this, they throw themselves flat on their bellies, and creep like serpents till they reach the spot: then, placing their own black limbs in such a position as not to be distinguished from those of the horse, they watch an opportunity to cut the cords, and then another to mount, when they gallop away among the

bushes, taking the chance of the random shot discharged after them.

In marching and encamping, no order is observed by these troops, except that the *thoks* or clans, usually connected by ties of kindred, keep close to each other. In a nightly march, they are kept together merely by each calling to his companion by name, which occasions such a clamour as makes the direction easily traced. They have not the least idea of fighting, without an overwhelming advantage. The moment they are attacked, the whole party thinks of nothing but the readiest flight, except a select few who shew their bravery by covering the retreat of the rest. In the exercise of their predatory calling, they practise the most unheard of barbarities. Their track is every-where marked by the smoke of burning villages, and the screams of their mangled and tortured inhabitants. To extract the confession of treasure, they are accustomed to tie a cloth filled with ashes and fine dust to the nose and mouth, which the victim, by blows on the back or breast is obliged to inhale; the pangs thus occasioned are said to be most exquisite. In short, had their career proceeded, as it recently threatened to do, India would have become a desert. Being emboldened, however, by long impunity, to extend their ravages into the dominions of the Company, the British government judged

itself called upon for the most vigorous measures to defend, both its own subjects, and all India, from this alarming devastation. Such was the origin of the recent war, in which the Pindarees were not only pursued and dispersed, but followed into their most inaccessible haunts, and reduced to such a condition as must, for a long period at least, render them incapable of troubling the peace of India.

THE fine provinces in the north-west of India are possessed by the SEIKS, a race of fanatic warriors, with whose origin and institutions we are now pretty fully acquainted. Its founder, Nanac, was born in an obscure station, at a village in the province of Lahore. He displayed from his youth a religious and contemplative disposition; and the sums given to him by his parents, for his establishment in the world, were, much to their dissatisfaction, distributed among fakirs and the poor. Being hereupon disinherited, he devoted himself wholly to a religious life, and soon became eminent as a teacher. His system appears to have been mild and philosophic. Placed in the midst of the contending factions of Mahometans and Hindoos, he endeavoured to form a tie between them, by dwelling upon, and illustrating that grand principle in which they all agreed, the unity and perfection of the Divine

Nature, and by representing their external observances as comparatively insignificant. By the mere force of persuasion he made numerous converts. At his death, his place was filled successively by Amera Das, Rum Das, and Arjunmal. The last distinguished himself as the compiler of the Adi Granth, or sacred book of the Seiks; but having excited the jealousy of the Mahometan government, he was imprisoned and put to death in a cruel manner. This catastrophe gave a new character to the sect, and began their conversion from the habits of thought and contemplation, to those of war and blood. Har Govind, the son of Arjunmal, spent his life in urging and leading them to vengeance. This priest militant wore constantly two swords in his girdle, and headed his followers in a series of desperate attacks on the Mahometan chiefs in the Punjab, which, however, have been on too small a scale to attract the notice of history. These insurrections were suppressed by the vigorous administration then prevailing in the Mogul empire; and after the death of Har Govind, the Seiks sunk for a time into peaceable subjects. Tegh Behadur, however, who succeeded as high priest, was inveigled to Patna, and there treacherously put to death. This event gave its final stamp to the destiny of the Seiks. Guru Govind, the son, equally eminent as a preacher, an author, and a warrior, from that moment entirely devot-

ed himself, and trained his followers to vengeance. They were taught to give themselves wholly up to arms; to have steel always on their persons. Steel became, as it were, the watch-word of the state, the object of their worship; nay, they wildly bestowed on their supreme deity the title of *All Steel.* From a poem of Guru Govind himself, the following extraordinary passage is quoted: "Thou art the sword, the cut-"lass, the knife, and the dagger; the protection "of the immortal being is over us; the protection "of *All Steel* is over us; the protection of *All* "*Steel* is constantly over us." This daring innovator threw down at once all the barriers of cast which separated the Hindoos from each other, and depressed the efforts of a large proportion of the people. He declared them all equal, and invited them alike to enter the career of military glory. The Seiks, imbued with these sentiments, collected their force amid the mountains of Serinagur, and rushed down in fury on the western provinces. Had circumstances been favourable, Guru Govind might have become the founder of a mighty kingdom; but he had to encounter Aurengzebe in the full height of his power. After several desperate conflicts, he was totally defeated, his adherents routed, dispersed, and driven into the mountains; and he himself, overwhelmed by this series of disasters, died in a state of insanity.

The death of Aurengzebe, and the distractions which followed it, gave the Seiks another opportunity of emerging into notice. After Guru Govind, they no longer owned a spiritual leader, but a chief named Banda raised himself by his talents to the military command, and led them to victory and vengeance. They spread themselves over several of the finest northern provinces, fighting almost with the fury of demons. They slaughtered all who refused to embrace their faith, polluted the mosques, and even dug up and mutilated the dead bodies. At length, however, a force was collected to oppose them; and after several vicissitudes, they received a defeat so total, that their strength was entirely broken, and they were hunted down and destroyed in vast numbers. Banda was carried to Delhi, and executed amid every species of insult and torture, which he met with undaunted fortitude. This chief, however admired for his valour, is held in abhorrence by the orthodox of his own sect, not, however, on account of his savage cruelty, but because he forbade them to wear blue, and ordered them to cry *Fateh Dherm* instead of *Guruji ki Fateh*. After this blow the Seiks remained in obscurity till after the expedition of Nadir Shah. They then took the opportunity to issue from their fastnesses, and harass the retreating rear of that monarch.' India being now left in a state of

anarchy, they again appeared on its theatre, and after various turns of fortune, and repeated contests with the king of Caubul and the Mahrattas, are now in possession of the territory watered by the five rivers, called the Punjab—the India of Darius and Alexander, and one of the finest districts of Indostan.

The Seiks have chosen for their civil and religious capital Amritsir, a name originally given to a well or tank built by one of their great national Gurus, and held by the whole people in such veneration, that a city was soon collected round it. Amritsir is the chief scene of Seik worship and pilgrimage; and even while it was in the power of their enemies, many of them braved death in order to reach it. Here also is held the Gurumata, or great national council, being a convention of the chiefs most distinguished for power and influence, who are nearly independent of each other, or of any general head. It meets only on great national emergences, and is convened by the Acalis, a body who, combining the character of priests and warriors, form at once the religious heads of the nation, and the garrison of Amritsir. At this assembly, the chiefs being met and seated, there is placed before them the Granths or sacred books of the Seiks, and also a large provision of cakes made of wheat, butter, and sugar, and covered with a cloth. The chiefs do reverence,

first to the books, and next to the holy cakes, which are then uncovered and eaten by the whole assembly. Prayers are then offered up and music performs, after which the Acalis cry aloud, "Sirdars, "this is a Gurumata." The chiefs then sit closer and say to each other, "The sacred Granth is "betwixt us, we swear to forget all disputes and "to be united." They then proceed to arrange the plan of operations, and to make choice of a commander-in-chief. Notwithstanding the temporary harmony produced by this expedient, disunion has been the rock on which the Seiks have always split. Hence, notwithstanding their warlike character, they have never been able to make head against a regular and formidable enemy. It is only the broken and distracted condition of Caubul and the Mahratta states which leaves them in peaceable possession of the territories which they now occupy.

Although the religion of the Seiks was originally intended as a link to unite the Mahometans and Hindoos, their proselytes are drawn almost entirely from the latter. The former, in consequence of the deadly wars waged against them by Mahometan princes, are viewed with jealousy and aversion. While the Hindoo converts are allowed to retain all the usages of their original sect, so far as they do not interfere with those presented by their new faith, the Maho-

metans are forbid cow's flesh, obliged to eat that of hogs, and to abstain from circumcision. The Seiks are all horsemen; they are bold, rough, and unpolished in their manners, but are brave, active, and cheerful, capable of attachment, and possess more aptness and sincerity than other Hindoos. Their cruelty seems rather national than individual. They are sparing and temperate in their diet, but indulge deeply in opium and spirituous liquors, and allow much greater freedom, often attended with dissoluteness, in the intercourse of the sexes, than prevails among the other tribes of Indostan.

The NAIRS form the chiefs or nobles, in the southern part of the coast of Malabar. Having never been subjected by any foreign power, they display an aristocratic pride, to which *lay* Hindoos are usually strangers. Their trade is arms, which yet they are accustomed to employ rather in surprise and assassination, than in open war. The most remarkable feature, however, in their social condition, is their arrangements with regard to love and marriage. They are married at the usual age, which is nine or ten, after which the husband never sees nor has any concern with his wife, except that of transmitting a maintenance. The lady is not hereby consigned to solitude, but is at perfect liberty to receive as many

lovers as she finds agreeable, or has charms to attract. Among these, should there be any one of inferior rank to herself, she is then expelled with ignominy from her cast, and viewed as a disgrace to all her connexions; but so long as the lovers are of the proper class, the greater their number be, it is considered the more creditable. The husband meanwhile, though he has no concern with her, is considered at full liberty to engage in other intrigues. This course of proceeding has entirely banished that economical and unostentatious style of living which prevails among Hindoos. All the young men vie with each other in shew and expense, to find favour in the eye of their mistresses. In this system, the brothers and sisters usually continue to live in the same house; and the sister's children, the fruit of these irregular connexions, are considered as the representatives of the family. The brother makes them his heirs, and views himself as standing in the parental relation to them; nay it is considered unnatural and monstrous, if he prefers, or even places on a level with them, children whom he has every reason to believe his own. This race were found by the first discoverers of India practising the same habits, which continue still unaltered.

Besides these native races, Indostan contains a numerous Muśsulman population, the offsprings of

successive swarms of invaders, which poured in from the west and the north. This people, who have so long domineered over India, and the western Asiatic empires, exhibit the general Mahometan character, without many peculiarities appropriate to this region. Observers do not appear in general to rate their character above that of the Hindoos. They are a rougher people, they possess greater energy and enterprise; but while they fail in displaying that urbanity and courtesy which distinguish the native people, they are said scarcely to rank higher as to honour and general worth. The ministers of a despotic power are usually initiated in every baseness; and in the breaking up of so many great states, opportunities of rising by the sacrifice of faith or principle become almost irresistible. Pride, ostentation, and sensuality, are reigning vices in a Hindoo Mussulman. There is indeed a constant influx of Afghan and Uzbek adventurers, who, at their first arrival, retain a considerable share of honesty and simplicity, but these good qualities, in the course of a long stay, are gradually corrupted. The religious pertinacity, combined with civil submission of their Hindoo subjects, have divested the Mussulmen of that fierce intolerance which distinguishes them in all the other countries of Asia. The persecutions which marked their first arrival have long since ceased,

and the two nations, however bigotted to their respective dogmas, have come to view the objects of each other's worship, not only without enmity, but with respect, and some degree of veneration.

This classification of Indian races shall be concluded with one which, though small in number, cannot be viewed without peculiar interest. The Portuguese, on landing upon the coast of Malabar, were not long of learning the existence of a body of SYRIAC CHRISTIANS, who were reported to have been converted by the apostle St Thomas. They are said to have had upwards of a hundred churches; but the simplicity of their faith and ritual, closely approaching to that of primitive Christianity, with their total ignorance and indifference as to the Pope, rendered them in the eyes of these bigotted invaders, more odious than even the idolatrous Hindoos. All the furies of the Inquisition were let loose, and after a hard struggle, these poor people consented to admit saints and images into their churches, to believe in purgatory and transubstantiation, and to disallow the marriage of their priests; but nothing could induce them to consent to the service being read in Latin. The Portuguese were therefore constrained to admit the use of Syriac; and thus was formed the Syro-Roman church. Those in the interior, however, continued refractory, and ad-

hered to their ancient institutions. In 1806, Dr Claudius Buchanan having learned the existence of this Christian society, was seized with a pious and laudable zeal to visit and inquire into its condition. Having obtained the sanction of Marquis Wellesley, he proceeded, with an introduction to the court of the Rajah of Travancore. That prince received him well, but professed total ignorance, and even unbelief, as to the coincidence of his religion with that of the people of whom he was in search. Dr Buchanan went on, however, and was not long of finding himself in the heart of the Syrian churches. They were of a Saracenic structure, not unlike some old English parish churches, with sloping roofs, pointed-arch windows, and buttresses. The sound of bells among the hills often recalled to his memory *another* country. He was met by a bishop in white vestments, with a cap of red silk, who courteously returned his salutation, but took an opportunity of inquiring of the Rajah's servants who he was. Having received a satisfactory answer, he invited Dr Buchanan to his house, and introduced him to three presbyters, Jesu, Zacharias, and Urias. The intelligence of the people, the virtuous liberty of the female sex, and the whole aspect of society, gave the idea of a Protestant country. The appearance of poverty was, however, considerable; and the people represented

themselves as much fallen from their ancient dignity, when they had even a king of their own. This they imputed to the Portuguese, who had obliged them, for the sake of religious liberty, to throw themselves upon the native princes, by whom they had been cruelly oppressed. They enjoyed, however, perfect religious toleration, except that the Hindoos objected to a bell very near to their temples, under the apprehension of its frightening their gods. In this depressed state, the fervour of the people had considerably abated. Their service consisted chiefly of prayer, with little preaching. They had only a few copies of the Bible, all in MS. A printed one, presented to them by Dr Buchanan, was the first they had ever seen. They made sometimes a few converts, but not so many as in their days of prosperity.

Dr Buchanan saw also in the vicinity of Cochin a colony of Jews, divided into the white and black Jews. The white Jews reported themselves to have come into the country not long after the destruction of Jerusalem. In 490 they obtained a grant of part of the city of Cranganor. Having fallen into dissensions among themselves, one of the parties called in a neighbouring prince, who took the place, and killed or carried captive the whole of the inhabitants. They considered the disaster almost as signal as that which had befal-

len their holy city. The black Jews, from their complexion and appearance, which could scarcely be distinguished from that of the Hindoos, were evidently of much higher antiquity, and probably had found their way at the time of the first dispersion. By the white Jews they were regarded as comparatively low and impure. Hebrew manuscripts were found among both tribes, particularly the white. Dr Buchanan, however, heard of a very ancient manuscript written on goat-skin as being in the possession of the black Jews. It was accordingly found in an old record chest belonging to the synagogue; and after considerable objection and altercation, he obtained permission to carry it away. It was shewn to the writer of this by Dr Clarke, in the library of the University of Cambridge, where it had been deposited by Dr Buchanan. It was written on very large rolls, in a fair and even handsome character; and Dr Clarke stated, that on comparison it appeared to differ very little from our genuine text.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH SYSTEM IN INDIA.

Foundation of the British Indian Empire.—Native Troops.—Civil Government.—Employment of Young Men.—Commerce.—Missions and Translations.

ALTHOUGH India be a region in itself striking and memorable, there is yet another view under which it appears still more interesting to a British reader. The whole of this vast empire may now be considered as subject to the sway of Britain. The destiny of a hundred millions of men, placed at the opposite extremity of the globe, is in our hands. On the other hand, the fortunes of Britain herself cannot fail to be materially affected by those of this enormous appendage to her dominions. There is at present neither occasion nor space to inquire into the steps, or the policy, which led to this vast extension of British territory. From the moment that the European powers established factories in Indostan, differences with the native powers could not fail to arise. On these occasions, the superiority of the former in skill and discipline secured always a

decided success, obtained too with numbers and means apparently very inadequate. The lustre thrown around their arms by these achievements was not long of opening the minds of the commanders to vast schemes of ambition. The system of holding territory, once admitted, could not fail, in such circumstances, to be most rapidly extended. The jealousy of the native powers was soon awakened; and their profligate and faithless policy led them to scruple at no means of ridding themselves from this unwelcome foreign intrusion. Hence, not only a pretext, but even a just cause for war, could scarcely ever be wanting. The state of the Mogul empire, sinking under its own weight, and splitting by rebellion into a number of separate fragments, greatly favoured the views of a foreign power. Every chief, with whom they were to make war, had usually a rival little inferior to himself, who was ready to join the standard of his enemy. The British often also enjoyed the opportunity of embracing the cause of the legitimate sovereign against a powerful rebel, and thus giving to their exertions a popular and laudable aspect. Thus it was that they propped for a moment the sinking throne of the Mogul, and afterwards obtained, as his viceroy, the government of Bengal and its dependencies. Finally, on the extinction of the race, they acquired a right to the succession

of his empire, which wore somewhat of a legitimate aspect.

To a superficial observer, the tenure on which the British Indian empire is now held might appear altogether anomalous and insecure. That a hundred millions of men should submit to the yoke of twenty or thirty thousand natives of a country separated from them by half the globe, and whose religion, manners, and mode of life, are in their eyes utterly odious and contemptible, might seem a supposition quite wild and impossible. Human affairs, however, proceed in a different train from that which a speculative survey might lead us to anticipate. The inhabitants of this part of the globe have been inured for so many ages to the sway of a foreign and absolute master, that all those impulses which could have spurred them on to the assertion of national independence have become nearly extinct. They have no idea of possessing any rights as men, or as members of a political society. They never think of speculating, whether a government be good or bad, just or unjust. Mr Strachey says, he never knew one native who had the remotest idea of the political state of his own country, or could once dream of joining in an attempt to alter its government. The most arbitrary exactions would not, he believes, excite any resistance, or at least would not raise any riot suffi-

cient to resist a company of Sepoys. He does not conceive that the natives ever consult or converse on political subjects. A few only of the higher rank in Calcutta sometimes make inquiries on the subject; but on such occasions they betray such gross ignorance, as proves how little such questions have ever occupied their attention. The only thing in their minds which can be called a public feeling, is that of personal attachment to their Zemindar or chief, which in some districts is very strong; so that they will follow him to the last, without the least inquiry either as to the justice of the cause, or the means of success. These Zemindars are hostile to the British government, which has deprived them of political power, and introduced a system of law inimical to their arbitrary proceedings. As these chiefs, however, have no union among themselves, they have no means of raising any force sufficient to make head for a moment against the British military power.

To supply the want of European numbers, the English have had recourse to a system which appears at first sight to be still more perilous. The natives are employed as troops to aid in the subjugation of their own countrymen. The success of the plan depends upon that profound apathy with regard to the condition and fortune of their country, which pervades every part of the Indian

population. The military orders too have always made it an invariable rule, to adhere to that power which holds in its hands the heaviest purse; and Britain is now able to outbid any of the native potentates. These troops, led by British officers, have displayed courage, and even heroism, in fighting the battles of their foreign masters. In the general course of things, they are as manageable, and not much less efficient, than an equal number of British troops. Considerable care and address, however, must always be used in touching so delicate an instrument. When any thing has been unguardedly done to shock their rooted prejudices, or when any disunion among British officers has revealed to them the secret of their own strength, terrible convulsions have threatened to ensue. The submission and subserviency with which the Hindoos behave to their present rulers, ceases not to be accompanied with the deepest inward aversion and contempt. The mere eating of beef is sufficient to render the Europeans in their eyes quite odious and disgusting. Then no one will cook it but a Pariah, and as the eater of any food can never, according to Hindoo ideas, rank higher than the cook, the European sinks inevitably to the level of that abhorred and outcast generation. A circumstance which renders him the object, if possible, of still deeper contempt and horror, is that of his wearing gloves and

shoes. To wrap himself in the skin and refuse of beasts, appears to them the last climax of human degradation. With difficulty can there be found a Pariah so lost to all purity of self respect as to brush a pair of boots. The maker of shoes is infamous, and ranks even lower than the Pariah. These circumstances, though they may be accounted "trifles light as air," will always outweigh, in the eyes of the Hindoo, every superiority of talent or knowledge which the European may possess over him.

Even after the victories of Clive had rendered the English virtual sovereigns of Bengal, a long period elapsed before its internal government was arranged on its present system. The Company at first placed the administration in the hands of a Nabob, who acted as their Viceroy, and acknowledged their power by tribute, military services, and great commercial advantages. This experiment did not succeed; dissensions soon arose between the English officers and the Nabob; the latter was supported by all the natives, and the Company had to fight with this creature of their own for their existence in Bengal. On overcoming this danger, it was determined, by a new arrangement, to guard against its recurrence. They obtained from the Mogul, for a trifling consideration, the Dewannee, or collection of the revenue, an office which includes

the whole internal administration. Under this system, it appears that the expectations and exactions, both of individuals and the Company, were very great, and that scarcely any limits were placed to their demands. Adventurers were even brought from Tartary and Persia, to enforce or quicken the payments of their Indian subjects. Compulsory measures were adopted to complete the commercial investment, which was now paid with the revenues of the country itself, instead of specie imported from Europe. Under this system, Bengal, in a few years, exhibited symptoms of rapid decline, which were rendered much more manifest and desolating by the dreadful famine of 1770. An attempt was made to afford relief, by sending English supervisors through the country for the protection of the peasantry. At length the seat of the Dewannee was translated to Calcutta, and it was placed entirely in the hands of English officers. The civil department of the law was transferred along with it, leaving only the criminal courts under the jurisdiction of the Nabob. This change promised to be beneficial; but as it appeared likely to be followed by some diminution of the revenue, it was immediately followed by another, which was that of letting all the lands by auction for the period of five years. They were taken by Banians, money dealers, and adventurers of all descriptions, who sought only

to amass a fortune during their short tenure. The country continued in a state of visible decay, and the sufferings of the natives were as great as ever. At length their cry reached the government at home; a new constitution was established for India; and Lord Cornwallis, a nobleman equally distinguished for wisdom, moderation, and virtue, was sent out to model anew the whole system of government. The plan now adopted was to bestow upon the natives a permanent property in the land, burdened only with the payment to government of a fixed annual rent. The persons into whose hands it was delivered were the Zemindars, the collectors of the land-tax under the Mogul government. Their office being in general hereditary, had caused them to be viewed as the proprietors of the districts whose rents they levied, and as the regular aristocracy of the country. To European ideas it seemed, that the security of property, and a full motive for the improvement of the lands, was thus afforded as far as it possibly could. According to the statement of Mr Fraser, however, the Zemindars have not as yet acquired the feelings of an European landholder. Long accustomed to change and violence, they proceed upon the old system of rather raising a monied fortune by racking their tenants to the utmost, than permanently improving the property intrusted to them. They

are said to practise every species of extortion upon the Ryots, who have no means of maintaining their rights, and have thus been reduced generally to an impoverished state. It does not appear, however, that any benefit can be expected from attempting a new change, which would only subvert all idea of permanence; and it seems scarcely possible, when the Zemindars find that the land is to be really and steadily their own, that they should not at last discover their own interest in its improvement, and the welfare of its cultivators.

The entire revenue drawn from British India amounted in 1809 to about 15½ millions. In 1812 it is said to have risen to 17 millions. The expense of the military establishment amounted in 1809 to L.8,404,298; that of the civil service to L.4,789,373. There was also a debt of about 30 millions to be provided for. The assets of the Company in India at the same period were estimated at L.20,127,707.

India appears to Britain in an interesting point of view, as affording employment to a number of young men in the middling, and even in the highest ranks of society. We now, indeed, seldom see adventurers return with imperial incomes, and laden with the spoil of kingdoms; but the emoluments of every department, both military and civil, are

still so much more ample than in the mother-country, as to attract thither youths of the first distinction. According to the two lines of service, the Indian adventurers are divided into *cadets* and *writers*. The cadets or military expectants, are by much the most numerous; but their emoluments are less considerable, and, unless in cases of peculiar good fortune, they cannot return with much more than a genteel competence. The cadet is appointed, either by the Directors, or by the Board of Commissioners for India affairs. He must be above fifteen, and not more than twenty-two, unless in the case of having served in the regulars or militia; when he continues eligible till twenty-five. He must pay his passage-money, and furnish all his equipments, the expense of which, when fully and respectably done, is supposed not to fall short of four hundred pounds. Immediately on his arrival in India, he begins to receive pay, and, on the first vacancy, is appointed to an ensigncy, after which he passes, according to the strict rule of seniority, through the different military *grades*. He is allowed to return home on full pay after serving twenty-five years; which period includes a furlough, or leave of absence, for three years, to enable him to visit his native country. If he chooses to decline this furlough, the period of service is reduced to twenty-two years. The pay

may be reckoned generally at double of that in the home service. There are a few appointments and separate commands, which may be obtained by interest or talent; and in some cases military officers are employed in missions to the native courts. In general, however, the sources of *extra* emolument within their reach are extremely limited.

A considerable number of young men also receive appointments to India in a medical capacity. On their arrival they become assistant surgeons in the hospital at Calcutta or Madras, and rank with lieutenants in the army. Their subsequent steps, with the military rank corresponding, are as follows. Full surgeon, who ranks with captain; superintending surgeon, with major; junior member of the Medical Board, with lieutenant-colonel; senior member of the Medical Board, with colonel. They receive the pay of the officers with whom they correspond in rank, and in general about three-fourths more, in name of medical allowance. Surgeons, and assistant surgeons, after twenty years service, including three of furlough, may retire on full pay. A superintending surgeon retires on L. 300 a-year, and a member of the Medical Board on L. 500.

The situation, however, which is generally considered most desirable and advantageous, is that of *writer*. The patronage is divided between the

Board of Controul and the Court of Directors, and the very highest interest is required to obtain an appointment. The young expectant must not be under sixteen, nor above twenty; he must possess a competent knowledge of the first elements of education, and must not have incurred a dismission from any seminary of education. He is then required to pass a certain period in Hertford college, where he is instructed in general literature and science; afterwards in the college of Calcutta, in which the tuition is confined to the native languages. At the former, he must spend at least four terms, of which there are two in the year; but he is not allowed to leave it, till he has obtained a certificate of due qualification. In case of expulsion, his appointment is forfeited. The period of continuance at the Calcutta college is regulated by the report of fitness for the situation to which he is to be appointed.

There are four departments in which writers may be placed, the diplomatic, the judicial, the commercial, and the collection of the revenue. They could formerly be changed from one to the other; but they are now required to make, from the beginning, the election of one, to which they in general continue attached.

The diplomatic class is considered as the most distinguished; but superior talents are required

to fill it with distinction, or to procure advancement. It supplied the persons employed in political missions, as residents at the different native courts. From it are also drawn the secretaries to government, who may rise to be members of the Supreme Council.

The young writer who seeks employment in a judicial capacity, first is appointed assistant to a judge, in some of the zillahs, or provincial districts. He then becomes successively judge —judge of appeal for some of those extensive districts into which British India is divided; and finally judge in the supreme, civil and criminal court, called according to its functions, the Fouzdary, the Sudder Dewannee, and the Nizamut Adowlat.

The commercial writers pass successively through the stages of factors, junior merchants, merchants, and members of the Board of Trade. Those employed in the revenue, rise from assistants to be collectors, and members of the Revenue Boards.

The emoluments of those different civil officers vary extremely, according to the stage of their progress, and the delicacy, difficulty, and importance of their functions. On their first arrival in India, they receive 300 Sicca Rupees, (about L.37. 10s.) a-month, and on obtaining an appointment 400 rupees, (L.50). Those who

have passed the rank of assistants, may be stated, generally, as enjoying from L.2000 to L.4000 a-year, and when they attain to the highest appointments, still more.

These respective appointments, provided their duties be discharged in a competent and respectable manner, may, in the course of fifteen or twenty years, afford the means of returning to Britain in comfortable circumstances. To effect this object, however, there must be exerted a certain prudence, and often a great share of steadiness and fortitude. In India every person who has to support a place in society must maintain a large and expensive establishment. The luxurious indolence of the climate, with the superstitions or punctilious habits of the natives, who, as menials, will perform only a single office, necessarily requires a numerous train of servants. Many of these have functions quite unknown in Europe, such as water carrier, water cooler, flambeau bearer, pipe holder, grass cutter, palanquin bearer, &c. Thirty servants, therefore, is not, for a family, considered as a very enormous household. A carriage is also indispensable, and to each horse must be attached a groom and a grass cutter. It is true, the wages are moderate, and can be exactly calculated, as each provides himself with food, clothing, and lodging. Provided, therefore, the establishment be kept within the

limits which the young gentleman's station in society requires, it may be supported without difficulty out of his liberal income. Unfortunately a great proportion of these adventurers consist of thoughtless youths, intoxicated with finding themselves their own masters, and accustomed, perhaps, to witness in their own families every species of expense and extravagance. They vie with each other in the splendour of their table, their dress, and above all, of their equipage. The carriages and horses must not only be at first of the finest quality, but they must be continually changed at the impulse of fashion or caprice, an immense loss being sustained on every sale. The greatest evil is, that with the certain prospect of a continually increasing income, the means of borrowing money to an indefinite extent are easily found. The shopkeepers of Calcutta pique themselves upon giving the most extensive credits, and not demanding payment till years after the debt has been incurred. But the most convenient and ruinous accommodation is given by the *Baboo* or native Banian, who advances the largest sums with the most astonishing facility. After any extensive loan, he usually bestows in addition a personage called a *sircar*, or superintendant of the household, through whose hands all the money expended by the young Englishman is to pass. This functionary defrauds in

every possible shape, exaggerates the price of every article, and makes private agreements with all the tradesmen. The youth is not long of learning the nature of this new agent; but whenever he attempts to return to the Baboo his baleful donation, the bond is always ready to be produced in return. Not only, therefore, is he obliged to retain this unwelcome appendage, but on receiving any responsible official appointment, he is expected to elect him and several of his creatures to subordinate places under him. These agents employ with diligence every means of extorting money; and as they scruple at none, however base or dishonest, the unfortunate master finds himself involved, through them, not in ruin only, but in infamy. Meantime the original debt, though never mentioned, is silently doubling and tripling itself, while the sircar contrives to embezzle its amount several times over. At length, when the natural time of returning to Europe arrives, he finds that he is doomed irretrievably to poverty and exile. Such is the disastrous issue of the fair prospects with which many Indian adventurers originally set out. Mr Fraser, however, relates with national pride, that these shipwrecked adventurers are chiefly English, and that his own countrymen usually possess prudence and self-command sufficient to prevent them from sinking into this gulf of destruction.

In 1805, the whole number of Europeans residing in India amounted to 31,000. Of these 22,000 belonged to the army; 2000 were employed in the civil service; 5000 were free merchants and mariners; 300 were employed as practitioners in the courts of law; and the remaining 1700 consisted of adventurers of various descriptions, who had found their way into India.

The commerce of India, the sole object for which intercourse with that vast region was originally sought, has been almost entirely conducted in Europe by exclusive Companies. That of England has been subject to numerous vicissitudes, but from 1702 to the last renewal of the charter in 1813, its exclusive rights were rigidly maintained. They comprehended all the coasts of eastern and southern Asia, and of eastern Africa, from the Cape to the limit of Asiatic Russia. Not a British vessel, unless under their colours, could sail through the Indian seas. When British capital, however, excluded from many of its wonted channels, was seeking employment in the remotest extremities of the world, a clamour arose against the system by which it was shut out from territories of such vast extent, and abounding in commodities suited to the market of Europe. As the Company also, on their accounts being called for, were obliged to own, that every branch of their trade, except that with China,

was productive of loss, there remained no reasonable ground for excluding their fellow subjects from reaping benefit by that from which they themselves reaped none. The act by which their charter was renewed secured to them every real advantage, since it continued not only their territorial dominion of Hindostan, but their exclusive trade to China. The wide coasts, however, of India and its islands, of Persia, Arabia, and eastern Africa, were thrown open to the commercial enterprise of British subjects in general. It was admitted, however, under certain restrictions, the expediency of which may well be considered as questionable. The trade could only be carried on in ships of a certain burden, and from certain ports, which in the first instance were, we believe, London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Greenock. Yet the private interest and experience of the merchant might surely have been trusted for selecting the vessels best fitted for the traffic; and there does not appear any reason why, in regard to the produce of this part of the world, or of any other, the convenience of the merchant should be sacrificed to the facility of collecting the duties.

Notwithstanding these fetters, this new opening was embraced with characteristic vigour and enterprise. A certain caution was observed in the first operations, inspired probably by the heavy forewarnings uttered as to the fatal conse-

quences of extravagant hopes and speculations. The returns were found to be highly advantageous, yielding, in many instances, a profit of a hundred per cent. Goods that had been sent out chiefly in despair of finding another market, proved sometimes the most acceptable of any; and even the muslins of Paisley and Manchester, from their superior cheapness, could cope successfully with the staple fabrics of India. The tendency of the British capitalist to overtrade in every department, is too strong not to be called out in all its force by such results. The trade was immediately commenced on a greatly extended scale, and India was soon as completely glutted with British produce, as the other markets of the world have recently been. It may be hoped, however, that the consequent stagnation and discouragement will abate, as the surplus thus created is gradually disposed of, and the demand is renewed; and that when our merchants shall learn duly to govern this extensive branch of their employment, they may convert it into a permanent and regular source of prosperity.

An estimate of the extent of the trade with India can only be formed from accounts made up during the period of the Company's exclusive trade, as none have been since produced which can shew the extension that has taken place in

consequence of the intercourse being thrown open.

In the seventeen years ending 1808-9, the Company made imports into India to the following annual average amount :—

Woollens, - - -	L.191,635
Other goods, - -	557,452
Bullion, - - -	384,247
	L.1,133,334

The following is a specification of the other articles besides woollens, which were imported in 1798-9 :—

Copper, - - -	L.122,700
Lead, - - -	24,180
Iron, - - - -	30,006
Steel, - - - -	6,530
Naval and garrison stores, -	196,004
Tin, - - -	927
Pitch, tar, deals, &c. - -	25,240
Sundries, - - -	11,686

The cost of goods and stores exported from India to England during the above seventeen years, including 10 per cent for contingent expenses, was - - L.12,834,490

Carry forward, L.12,834,490

Brought forward,	L.12,834,490
Amount of sales, - -	L.8,904,068
Stock on hand at close of period, -	1,004,291
	L.9,908,359
Loss, - - -	L.2,926,131

Of goods imported from India, the average annual amount during the same period, was

	L.1,238,855
Amount of sales, - -	2,637,746

The amount, however, of customs, freight, charges of merchandise, amounted to nearly as much as the prime cost of the goods, leaving only a profit of about L.310,000 to balance the loss sustained on the exports.

The following are the component parts of the amount of sales reduced to an annual average :—

Piece goods, - -	L.1,539,478
Organzine silk, - -	13,443
Pepper, - - -	195,461
Saltpetre, - - -	180,056
Spices, - - -	112,596
Sugar, indigo, &c. - -	272,442
Coffee, - - -	6,624

We shall conclude with a subject which has, from laudable motives, excited a considerable share of the public attention.

The Protestant nations, and particularly the English, had been long reproached with an indifference to the religious interests of their eastern subjects. Their conduct here formed a striking contrast to that zeal, however little distinguished by knowledge or choice of means, which had certainly distinguished the Catholic nations. The present age has done much to wipe off this reproach. The chief merit is due to the mission founded at Serampore about the end of the last century, by some individuals of the Baptist persuasion. None seems ever to have been conducted on principles of purer philanthropy, or in a manner more worthy of the Christian character. In prosecuting their objects, the missionaries have made a progress in philological science and research which has commanded the admiration even of those who could not otherwise estimate the value of their exertions. Through their efforts the difficulties, once supposed insurmountable, which opposed our knowledge of the languages of India, have been entirely removed. They have accomplished the task, supposed, if possible, still more arduous, of reading and writing the Chinese language. There is now scarcely a people, from the Indus to the Eastern Ocean,

who may not read, in their own language, the greater part of the sacred volume. Several of the missionaries who are in the enjoyment of large incomes, devote to this pious object all above what is necessary to support a frugal establishment. This is a measure which can be liable to no exception; and, so far as it goes, is unquestionably beneficial. It is true, the circulation of the Scriptures is not conversion; but the one, besides forming a preparation to the other, may, at all events, diffuse a circle of purer religious and moral ideas, which form of themselves a happy improvement. The following is a view of the state and progress of translations, as given in the 33d Report of the Baptist mission, which comes down to the end of 1817.

1. *Sanscrit.* Into this, the sacred language of India, the New Testament and Pentateuch had been translated in 1814. It is now expected, that before the present Report arrives in Europe, the whole will be completed.

2. *Bengalee.* The fourth edition of the New Testament in this language, consisting of 5000 copies, was nearly exhausted. The second edition of the Old Testament was at press.

3. *Hindee.* A second edition of 4000 copies of the New Testament. The Old would be completed before the Report reached Europe.

4. *Mahratta.* The edition of the New Testament was nearly exhausted. The Old nearly completed, with the exception of the Prophets.

5. *Orissa.* A second edition of 4000 copies of the New Testament. The Old long ago complete.

6. *Telinga.* The New Testament, as far as the Epistle to the Thessalonians.

7. *Kunkuna,* (a language spoken on the south-western coast). The New Testament to be finished in a few weeks.

8. *Seik.* The New Testament and Pentateuch finished. The historical books at press.

9. *Wuch* or *Watch.* The New Testament completed as far as the Romans.

10. *Pushtoo* or *Afghan.* The New Testament to be completed next year.

11. *Bruj,* (a language spoken in a great part of Upper India). The Gospels and Acts.

12. *Cachemire.* The Gospels.

13. *Burman.* The Gospels translated and nearly 1000 disposed of.

14. *Chinese.* An edition of 2000 of the New Testament nearly disposed of. A second edition preparing, which will include Luke and the Acts, omitted in the first. The Pentateuch printed, and by means of moveable types, compressed into 290 pages.

Besides this extensive system of translation, missionaries have been employed at Calcutta, and at all the principal stations, in endeavouring to convert the natives by the preaching of the Gos-

pel. Although no zeal nor exertion seems to have been spared, it is to be regretted that the results, as stated in the Reports, do not appear very encouraging. They may even give rise to the doubt, whether the propagation of Christianity be destined by Providence to take place otherwise than in the train of European knowledge and ideas, which are, in fact, diffusing themselves so rapidly over the globe. The reports of the missionaries are perfectly candid and ingenuous; they employed no tricks, and admitted of no false semblance of conversion. The result stated is, that in the course of seventeen years, the number of baptisms, in all these countries, had amounted only to twelve hundred. The latest reports do not indicate any increasing disposition to listen to the instructions of their Christian teachers. The missionary at Patna writes, "Relative to the actual fruit in the conversion of "men, it pleases the Lord still to exercise our "faith;" and adds, that almost the only benefit derived from their labours, was the being taught "to cease from themselves, and to expect success "from him alone." From Surat it is stated, "The natives like the cruel yoke of the Bramins "better than the easy yoke of Christ." From Rangoon a complaint is made: "Here is no "Burman convert, coming in to tell us, what "great things the Lord has done for his soul."

The Mahratta resident observes, that his hopes had been sometimes raised, but that several of whom he had once been sanguine, "had gone "back to their idol worship, not having found "religion profitable to their worldly interest." In regard to Serampore, the head-quarters of the mission, and where their labours had been continued assiduously for many years, the exact result is not stated. It is only mentioned as strongly impressing the conviction, that no extensive conversion can be hoped, without some previous tincture of general knowledge and instruction.

These observations seem to have led to the plan of establishing *schools*, from which perhaps much greater benefits may be expected, than from any other method which has been employed. Several of these appear to be on the same footing as those established by the Tranquebar missionaries, where the scholars are entirely maintained and provided for by the master. Of course, the parents from whom they are obtained must be poor, and somewhat indifferent as to the lot of their children; though it is to be hoped their apathy is seldom so entire as that of a father who brought two sons to a missionary at Columbo. On being asked if he wished them to be instructed in the Christian religion, he replied: "I have delivered them to you; you may sell "them, or kill them, or do what you like with

"them." Schools on a more liberal footing, and for higher classes, have been recently established at Calcutta. In these it is intended to make no demand of conversion, or even of any departure from the rules of cast. It is merely proposed to communicate instruction in the general principles of religion and morality, and the first elements of useful knowledge. It is imagined that even to correct their extravagant ideas on the subject of geography and history, may pave the way for sound views on other subjects. Hopes are expressed, that when they cease to consider Mount Meru as twenty thousand miles high, and the world as a flower, of which India is the cup, and other countries the leaves, their minds may become more open to rational views on the subject of religion. A knowledge of sacred, and even of profane history, may afford them the means of comprehending the evidences of our holy faith. If the seed is not sown, the ground at least is prepared for it. This measure is only in progress, nor is there yet time to estimate its effects; but we cannot help considering it as one, of all others, best calculated to improve the condition of our Indian subjects.

BOOK III.

TRAVELS IN THE COUNTRIES BORDERING ON HINDOSTAN.

CHAPTER I.

TRAVELS THROUGH THE HIMMALEH, AND TO THE SOURCES OF THE INDIAN RIVERS.

Various Opinions on the Source of the Ganges.—Hardwicke's Journey to Seringour.—Webb's Journey to the Source of the Ganges.—Moorcroft.—Height of the Himmaleh Mountains.—Fraser.

No object in the structure of the earth has more strongly excited the curiosity of mankind, than the great rivers by which it is watered. Besides the place which they hold among the grand features of the globe, their very aspect powerfully impresses the imagination. This mighty tide, rolling on unaltered from age to age, amid all the revolutions of time and empire, must excite powerful emotions in the beholder. In particular, it cannot fail to carry back his

mind to the grandeur of those distant regions from which its course is derived. To trace a great river to its source, gratifies also that desire of *complete* knowledge which is deeply fixed in the human mind.

Of all the mighty rivers of Asia, none equals the fame of the Ganges. The magnificent plain which it waters, the lofty mountain barrier from which it descends, and the mysterious distance in which it was long involved, have given it a great name both in the ancient and modern worlds. Till very recently, however, various and erroneous views were entertained relative to its source. Ptolemy, indeed, who distinctly establishes the Imaus (Himmaleh), as the great northern barrier of India, makes the Ganges clearly flow from its southern side. As, however, he represents his plan of the upper part of its course as considerably *truncated*, it may be doubted whether he knew much of it prior to its descent into the plains of India. Pliny observes, that various opinions prevailed relative to its origin; some representing it to be as uncertain as that of the Nile; while others described it as rushing from its source with a mighty noise, and dashing through abrupt and rocky regions, till it reached the plain, when it flowed through a wide and even channel. It was only upon faint rumour, however, that he

gave this just description of the Ganges in its early career.

All the early modern geographers place the source of the Ganges greatly too far north, about the fortieth degree of latitude, which carries it into the very heart of Tartary. So far, however, as they give to India a northern boundary of mountains, they make the Ganges rise in the south of them; but they had no adequate idea of the extent and continuity of this great chain. More positive information was supposed to be obtained through the channel of the French missionaries at the court of China. The Lamas formerly alluded to as sent by the Emperor into Thibet, reported that the Ganges, like the Brahmapoutra, issued from the great lake of Mapang, (Mansarowar); that it then held a westerly, and even somewhat of a northerly course through Thibet, till, after passing Ladak, it turned to the south, and having flowed for a considerable space in that direction, entered India. This delineation, in the absence of any other, was accepted by D'Anville and Rennell, and passed into all the maps subsequently constructed. It was added from Tieffenthaller, that the Ganges rushed by a narrow channel through the Himmaleh, and, near Gangoutri, precipitated itself from a rock, which, on account of its form, was called the

cow's mouth, and whence it proceeded to water the plains of Indostan.

This view of the question, however generally received in Europe, did not satisfy the inquisitive mind of Mr Colebrooke. He found it generally agreed by the numerous pilgrims who resorted to Gangoutri, that the Ganges was there a mere brook, the source of which could not be supposed many miles distant. These native accounts, which appeared much more deserving of credit than the single hearsay report of the Chinese Lamas, decidedly placed its source in the southern side of the Himmaleh, and negatived its course of several hundred miles along the table-land of Thibet. It was determined to send a British mission, which, by actual observation, might bring the question to a decisive issue. Before detailing its operations, however, it may be interesting to trace the route of Captain Hardwicke, who, in 1796, first penetrated into these high and northern regions of India.

Captain HARDWICKE set out from Fatighur, and did not reach any place of consequence till he came to Haridwar. He found it a very small town, consisting only of a few brick houses. The place, however, is accounted holy in a pre-eminent degree. The Ganges here separates itself into three branches, and the bathing at the point

of separation is supposed to possess a peculiar and sacred virtue. For this object an annual festival is held, which every twelfth year is celebrated with peculiar pomp. The present happening to be the duodecennial era, the crowd of pilgrims was prodigious, coming from all the provinces of India, as well as from regions far to the north of its snowy boundary. Captain Hardwicke assures us, that it was on very solid grounds, and without any tendency to exaggeration, that he estimated them at upwards of two millions. Amid the striking spectacles presented by this mighty concourse of nations, he and his companion Mr Hunter were considered as the most anomalous. The natives viewed them with unbounded curiosity, and not only crowded round the tent, but looked in with very little ceremony. No serious annoyance was, however, experienced, which was beyond expectation, considering the disorderly demeanour of many of these pious wanderers. Violent contests were wont to arise between the different tribes for obtaining supreme sway during the period of the festival. On this occasion the Fakirs or Gosseins found themselves so strong, that, suspending their mysterious musings on the essence of the Bramh, they seized the administration, prohibited any other class from wearing arms, and levied all the taxes, which they carefully avoided remitting to the Mahratta government.

This usurped sway they seem to have exercised not without some equity. A Sepoy in the British service was robbed of a purse of fifty rupees by a party of Marwars, who pretended that he had stolen it from one of themselves. The case was immediately carried before the chief Gossein, who ordered each party to make an exact specification of the number and species of coins contained in the purse. This was done accurately by the owner, but erroneously by the opposite party, who had not had time to investigate its contents; whereupon the purse was restored to its lawful possessor, and the Marwars underwent a severe flagellation. This plenitude of power enjoyed by the Gosseins suffered a serious interruption by the arrival of about 14,000 Seiks, with their families, who encamped at a little distance, and sent their chief priest or Guru with a party to fix on a convenient spot for bathing. As they had not, however, made any intimation or acknowledgment to the party now in power, the Gosseins attacked them, tore down their flag, and drove them away, after plundering them to a considerable amount. The Seiks, whose faith had been always of a militant order, were not men tamely to endure such an affront. They sent several of their Rajas to the chief Gossein demanding redress. The Gosseins, on considering the affair at leisure, saw the imprudence of

which their people had been guilty. They made a humble apology, restored the property, and allowed the Seiks free access to the river. That people accordingly bathed peaceably for some days, and all their resentment was supposed to be extinguished, when one morning they appeared, mounted in full armour, and began an attack upon the different watering-places, massacring all the Gosseins whom they encountered. The assembled multitudes fled in wild dismay, but the fury of the Seiks was confined to the offending race, of whom five thousand are said to have perished. Being stopped by the river, and by a post of Sepoys, they retreated; but deep alarm still prevailed that they were proceeding to attack the numerous pilgrims who were about to return southward over the plains of Rohilcund. These fears were dispelled next day, when news came that the Seiks were in full march westward to their own country, the slaughter of the Gosseins having quenched the thirst of blood in the breast of these holy pilgrims.

In proceeding to Serinagur, Captain Hardwicke did not follow the direct road, but took a somewhat circuitous, though less difficult one, by Nejeebabad, Coadwara, and Nataana. The travellers soon found themselves ascending a range of lofty mountains, skirted by vast forests, which extend along the whole northern frontier of Ro-

hilcund. These forests contain many species of valuable timber, and present a rich variety of plants to the examination of the botanist. The *nullahs* or mountain torrents abound with fish, which are taken by various processes, particularly by the use of a certain narcotic vegetable substance. A pool of water being enclosed with stones, so as to bar all outlet, the bruised roots of this plant are thrown in, when the fishes soon become stupid, come to the surface, and are taken by the hand.

In this ascending route, the combination of mountains, rocks, and forests, presented a rich and varied scenery, which, however, the travellers had little leisure to enjoy. Their road lay usually along the sides of perpendicular cliffs, where paths had been cut so narrow as to require continual circumspection to prevent their being precipitated into the valleys beneath. The whole of this road to Serinagur, is composed of hills stretching in every direction, often in short chains, connected by narrow ridges, separated by close valleys, so that it had been remarked that there was no spot where a thousand men could be encamped. On reaching Nataana, the woods disappeared, and the country became destitute of every vegetable produce except grain, which was still diligently raised. A little above Nataana he came to an insulated ridge, whence he distinct-

ly saw towering above, and glittering in the morning sun, a long range of the snowy summits of the Himmaleh, stretching far to the eastward. He had often seen them from the plains of Rohilcund, but then so faint and remote, as to afford no idea of the magnificent spectacle which now presented itself.

In about seventeen days after leaving Haridwar, Captain Hardwicke arrived at Serinagur. He found it situated in a plain, extending about a mile and a half in every direction. The situation appeared neither pleasant nor healthful, but seemed to have been chosen for the single reason, that there was no other throughout this range of country affording space on which a town could be built. The place is of an oval form, three quarters of a mile long, the houses built of stone and roofed with slate, but in a rough manner, and the streets very narrow. The Raja's house was higher than the rest, but much decayed, and by no means handsome. That prince received them well. His dress was as plain as his mansion. It exhibited neither jewels nor decorations, nor any of the pomp of a great sovereign. He mentioned, in fact, that his revenues did not exceed 506,000 rupees, of which he was obliged to pay 25,000 to the Raja of Gorkha. These are derived chiefly from duties on the transit of goods between Thibet and India, from cop-

per and lead mines, and from licenses to search for gold dust, which is found in the sand of several of the rivers. When Akbar was fixing the revenue of the empire, the Raja of Serinagur being ordered to produce a map of his country, went out and brought in a lean camel, saying, "My country is like this camel, all up and down, "and very poor." This sensible picture so impressed the monarch, that he dispensed with tribute altogether.

In regard to the country to the north, Captain Hardwicke observes, that, from one of the highest eminences near Serinagur, he could discern five or six broken ranges of hills rising behind each other. The last or most elevated reached to appearance about half way up from the base of the stupendous Himmaleh, whose snowy summit terminated the view. Unless in winter, however, snow did not rest on any of the intermediate ranges.

Our traveller had at first intended to proceed to Bhadrinath; but deterred by the approach of the rainy season, he did not proceed farther than Serinagur.

We have now to trace the result of the official mission, undertaken with the most liberal view of extending geographical knowledge with regard to this interesting part of the Asiatic continent. Mr Colebrooke, dissatisfied, as above noticed, with the

authorities which had placed the source of the Ganges on the north of the Himmaleh, sent Lieutenant Webb, accompanied by Captains Raper and Hearsay, to endeavour to bring the question to a decision. They were to proceed to Gangoutri, and view the cow's mouth, if such an object really existed; if not, they were to endeavour to reach the source of the Ganges, or at least to trace its stream as high as possible. Inquiry was also to be made respecting the sources of the Yamuna, the Alacananda, and other great tributaries to the Ganges. At the same time, the position and aspect of the principal peaks in the great range of the snowy mountains, were to be carefully observed.

The mission arrived at Haridwar on the 1st April 1808. This happened, by a singular chance, to be the next duodecennial celebration of the grand festival, since that seen by Captain Hardwicke. They beheld, however, a much more agreeable scene than that troubled and bloody one witnessed by their predecessors. The British authority, now established at Haridwar, employed itself actively to preserve order and decency amid this tumultuous crowd of worshippers. Strict regulations of police were enacted; no arms were permitted to be worn; guards were stationed at all the principal points; and this vast tide of human life performed its daily flux

and reflux, without the occurrence of any disastrous shock. Captain Raper (the narrator) was particularly struck with the immense commerce which took place at this sacred fair. It appeared to form the central point by which the Gangetic and southern provinces communicated with the Punjab, Cashmire, and the countries beyond the Himmaleh. All the productions of all the regions in and around India were here deposited as in a vast magazine. Unfortunately, there was no accommodation for arranging and stowing them. They were merely thrust into any vacant corner. No one knew where to seek what he wanted, but was obliged to wade in search of it as through a chaos. It is conceived, therefore, that the erection of a street of shops would be an arrangement wonderfully convenient to this host of devout traffickers, and would well repay the sum expended on it. The Gosseins, though now deprived of the sway which they formerly exercised, were still considered the leading characters, and occupied the best places. No tax or toll being now levied as heretofore, the numbers could not be calculated upon any precise data; but Captain Raper, by conjecture, approves his predecessor's estimate of two millions.

From Haridwar the mission proceeded northwards for the purpose of visiting Gangoutri, a destination which led considerably to the west of

the route pursued by Captain Hardwicke. They encountered, however, equal difficulties with those commemorated by him and Andrada. They had, in particular, to pass a mountain by a path often not a foot broad, overhanging a precipice of six or seven hundred feet. Our travellers, however, as they paced it with trembling caution, saw the hill people leaping along with the most fearless agility. In ascending higher, they saw themselves surrounded by European trees and flowers —the peach, apricot, strawberry, raspberry, dandelion, and white rose. The mountains were covered with a very large species of fir, yielding a great quantity of pitch. On ascending a high mountain they came to a small table-land at its summit, the prospect from which presented a scene so grand, as imagination could never have dared to paint. From the top to the bottom was a perpendicular height of at least four thousand feet, while above, seven or eight chains successively rose behind each other, till the view was bounded by the snowy pinnacles of the mighty Himmaleh. The almost unfathomable depth of the valley beneath, contrasted with the stupendous height of the mountains above, and the grandeur of their awful and cloud-capt boundary, produced an impression of sublimity, amounting almost to terror. The two loftiest peaks in view, were those of Gangoutri, supposed to be the source of the Ganges;

and Jamautri, that of the Jumna. The horizontal distance was estimated at thirty miles; but so circuitous and difficult was the route, that this space occupied twelve days' journey.

In descending, the travellers lost sight, unless by intervals, of the snowy regions; but they beheld a pleasing picture in the industry with which the sides of the mountains were made to yield plentiful crops of wheat and barley. Manure, neglected in India, is here carefully collected and employed. The females, too, were no longer excluded, but joined with the men in the labours of the field, and formed part of the crowds who came to gaze on the strangers. Goitres were pretty frequent in these mountainous regions. The road, however, became soon so steep and perilous, as to divert their attention from every thing but their own safety. The rivers and mountain torrents were passed by two species of bridges. The one, called a Sangha or Sankho, consisted merely of two or three fir trees laid across, and fastened by stones on each side. The other, called a Jhula, resorted to where the stream was broader, was composed of a number of ropes stretched across, so as to form a sort of concavity; across the bottom of which a ladder was laid horizontally, over which the passenger stepped, while the higher ropes served as a parapet. The swinging and rocking of this loose

species of pontage, with the dashing and roaring of the river beneath, formed a combination sufficient to make giddy the firmest head.

Through all these obstacles, they reached Barahat, the village where preparations are usually made for the journey to Gangoutri. In two days they reached another called Batheri; but here they received such intelligence as induced them to pause. They were assured that the road from hence to Gangoutri was beset with very formidable perils. Such tidings appeared truly ominous, from the mouth of persons of almost miraculous agility, who had tripped lightly over paths which had seemed to the British such as the most anxious care could barely render passable. They determined, however, to make a trial of one day's journey, but found the labour so enormous, with steep ascents, immense rocks, loose stones, and roaring torrents; being assured, moreover, of this being a mere earnest of what they were to encounter, that they determined to renounce this enterprise, and content themselves with reaching Bhadrinath and the source of the Alacananda. What they saw and heard left no doubt of the fact that the Bhagirath, or main branch of the Ganges, issued from the southern side of the Himmaleh. The small size to which they saw it reduced, with the vast and unbroken height of the snowy barrier behind, entirely coincided with the

report of all the natives upon this subject. A Moonshee, and two or three very devout Indians, agreed to proceed to Gangoutri, and after duly paying their devotions, to explore, if possible, the source of the river and the cow's mouth. Three weeks after, this party returned, and joined them on the banks of the Alacananda. They gave a most fearful account of their adventures and hair-breadth escapes. They were particularly dismayed by a storm of snow, an object which they had never felt or seen, unless on the plain from a great distance. They traced the river a few miles above Gangoutri, where it flowed with a moderate current only fifteen or twenty yards broad, and about waist deep. Beyond this it was entirely covered beneath beds of snow, which no one had yet been able to penetrate. The cow's mouth was a mere fragment of rock in the bed of the river, part appearing above in a shape which the fancy of an Indian might actually construe into that revered form. Higher up, the Ganges could rarely be seen, being so buried under snow, that even its sound was not heard. The snow being soiled, appeared like the earth of cultivated fields. At length they came to a steep mountain, like a wall of rock, from an angle of which the Ganges appeared to come. Nothing appeared beyond, but the snowy tops of the mountains, of various forms,

but without the least sign of vegetation,—nothing but snow, masses of which were falling from the mountains.

The mission now set out to explore the source of the Alacananda. They came on the 11th of May to Deoprayaga, formed by the junction of that stream, here smooth and unruffled, with the rapid and foaming torrent of the Bhagirath. The two form the Ganges, whose *prayagas* or junctions bear always a sacred character. The present holds a high place among the five great *prayagas*, and is resorted to by great multitudes for the purpose of bathing. The river is so rapid as to render it necessary to construct basins, to prevent the bathers from being carried down by its stream. The town consists of upwards of two hundred houses, inhabited by Bramins, who are obliged to eke out their subsistence by carrying on a petty traffic.

In three days more the party arrived at Serinagur. They found that capital, which, even to Captain Hardwicke, had presented nothing very imposing, reduced now to a deplorable state. In the same year it had been shaken by a violent earthquake, and invaded by the Gorkhalis from Nepal, who made an easy conquest, and carried their arms to the frontier of Cashmire. They proved, however, negligent and oppressive rulers; so that the people, under this accumulation of

distress, had either abandoned the spot, or were retained only by feelings of local attachment.

The mission left Serinagur on the 18th. They passed over a very irregular country; but considerable pains had been taken to render the road passable, with a view to the profit derived from the numerous pilgrims, great bands of whom were met returning from the shrines of Cedarnath and Bhadrinath. Among the Alpine bridges, there was one which struck them as peculiarly critical. It consisted merely of two or three pieces of rope stretched across; while the passenger being placed below, wound his hands and feet round the ropes, having a small hoop beneath on which his back could rest. Those who judged their heads unequal to such a passage, were dragged across with cords by some one who was bolder and more experienced. In this journey they passed three of the five great Gangetic *prayagas;* these were formed by the junction of the Alacananda with some smaller streams; the other two are at Haridwar and Allahabad. Near the last of these *prayagas,* formed by the influx of the Dauli, they found the town of Josimath, which forms the winter residence of the high priest and inhabitants of Bhadrinath, when those higher regions are rendered uninhabitable by cold. It is situated in the recess of a high mountain, which shelters it on three sides from the cold blasts which blow

over the Himmaleh. It contained a great collection of temples, the principal of which was dedicated to Vishnu, and bore marks of great antiquity; but some had been destroyed, and most of them shattered by the recent earthquake.

Beyond Josimath the travellers found the Alacananda about twenty-five yards broad, and rolling with a rapid current. The first day's journey was very difficult, the road being led by ladders and narrow foot-paths along the perpendicular masses of rock which overhung the bed of the river. On emerging from this deep glen, they found themselves in the full presence of the great Himmaleh. The scene resembled the depth of a northern winter. The mountains, which were at the distance of four or five miles, presented some verdure at their base, while the declivity was scantily clothed with pines; but all their summits were hoary with perpetual snow. The northern face, where it could be descried, was white from the summit to the base. A number of small streams were seen descending from the mountains, and dashing from rock to rock in a series of cascades till they reached the Alacananda. At length that river itself was traced to the point where it issued from under the vast piles of snow which had covered it for ages. Beyond this point it was not supposed that any traveller had ever ventured. The Shastras indeed mention its

source in a spot called Alacapura; but there seems much room to suspect that this place partakes of the fabulous character of the legends in which it is named.

The mission having thus reached their prescribed limits, began their return. They proceeded to Manah, a village situated on the left bank of the river. It was more considerable than might have been expected in this desolate situation, consisting of 150 to 200 houses, and 1400 to 1500 inhabitants. All the people came out in courtesy and curiosity to meet the travellers, who beheld a greater display of female and juvenile beauty than they had witnessed in any Indian village. The natives resembled the people of Tartary and Thibet rather than those of Hindostan; the females were handsome, with ruddy and almost florid complexions. Although the garments of these fair mountaineers were of woollen, and very coarse, they were loaded, and some almost weighed down with beads, rings, gold and silver trinkets; the value of which, in several instances, amounted to five or six hundred rupees. The wealth of Manah arises from the traffic carried on with Thibet, by one of the passes here reaching across the snowy mountains; from which country they import salt, borax, gold dust, cow tails, musk, and bezoar. So profitable

is the intercourse, that a young man was seen dealing in some petty articles whose father had advanced a loan of two lacs of rupees (L. 20,000) to the Raja of Serinagur.

From Manah they crossed the river to Bhadrinath; but this shrine did not present that magnificent aspect which might have been anticipated from its high fame over India, and the concourse of pilgrims from the most distant regions. It was built in the form of a cone, roofed with copper, and having a golden ball and spire at the top. The travellers were introduced into the vestibule, whence they had only an imperfect view of the inner sanctuary, where Bhadrinath was seated. Two or three lamps shed "a dim reli-"gious light," by which they could faintly descry a figure of black stone about three feet high, covered with a rich drapery of gold and silver brocade, which glittered through the gloom. When they were satisfied with the view thus obtained, a silver salver was handed to receive any offering which they might please to bestow. They gave a hundred rupees, which they were afraid would be thought too small; however they received in return a muslin turban, and a cow's tail, which was at least above the usual return of a little rice, scarcely sufficient for a single meal. The scantiness of earthly donation is compensated by the liberal promises of heaven, and of relief

from the burden of transmigration, which are made to those whose gifts are liberal. Another source of purifying influence is derived from bathing in the sacred springs, which are pretty numerous; some remarkable for cold, and others for heat. Tolls are levied at every step of this high-road to paradise; so that if the pilgrim at his departure finds the weight of his sins diminished, that of his purse is lessened at least in an equal degree.

The pilgrims who resort hither, consist of the most pious and adventurous of those who have previously attended the great Mela, or fair, at Haridwar. They proceed first to Cedarnath, which is only fourteen or fifteen miles in direct distance; but the passage is so obstructed by beds of snow, that they are usually obliged to make a circuit of eight or nine days by Josimath. Two or three hundred, however, were said this year to have perished in the snow. Some lay their whole property at the foot of the deity, and beg their way home; there are even instances of individuals who have bestowed lacs of rupees. Others who are inclined to drive a hard bargain for heaven, exaggerate their own poverty, and obtain sanctification less copiously indeed, but at a cheaper rate. The permanent revenues of the temple are very great, as it has the property of seven hundred villages, with the lands adjacent. It has been

customary with the Raja of Serinagur, when reduced to financial extremities, to cast his eye on these holy repositories. In treating with the priests for a reluctant loan, he assigns in pledge several villages, which being of less value than the money advanced are never redeemed. Large, however, as these revenues are, the contributions are supposed to be still more productive.

The travellers now returned by a somewhat different route, passing near Almora, which, however, they were not allowed to enter. The rest of the route presented nothing of much importance.

No European traveller, at least in the present age, has penetrated so deep into the mountainous world of India, as Mr Moorcroft. This gentleman, accompanied by Captain Hearsay, undertook a journey into Thibet, with the view of observing and procuring specimens of that remarkable species of goat, whence the celebrated shawls of Cashmire are fabricated. To this object, so interesting to the standard manufacture of England, he added that of surveying the sacred and celebrated lake of Manasarowara, an object of religious veneration throughout Indostan, and which had been reported as the source of its most celebrated rivers. The detailed narrative begins at Josimath, which had been reached and passed

by the former mission. Here Mr Moorcroft hired a Pundit as the companion of his journey, and to ascertain precisely the space traversed; for which purpose it was stipulated, that in walking he should make every stride precisely four feet in length. A respectable journal expresses much wonder how such a condition, always difficult, could be at all complied with, in travelling a road so rugged and precipitous, where it often required the nicest selection to find a spot on which the foot could be placed with safety. No such consideration seems to have abated in any degree the confidence of the mission in this mode of measurement; and in the journal of every day, the strides of the Pundit are faithfully recorded. Be this as it may, Mr Moorcroft now found himself in the heart of the snows and eternal winter of the Himmaleh. The road lay along the deep valley of the Dauli, a rapid mountain stream falling into the Alacananda, and along whose banks lay the ghaut or pass, shut in by tremendous walls of mountain over mountain, by which the traveller pursued his perilous way. The summits of these mountains were covered with snow, but down their declivities stretched vast forests of pine trees, the magnitude of which, already reported by Andrada, is fully confirmed by Mr Moorcroft. Some of them, he conceives, might make masts for a first-rate man of war, and many, from their

height and the magnificence of their foliage, are mistaken by him for cypress and cedar. His road lay along the broken and perpendicular sides of the tremendous cliffs by which the pass was bordered. Tracks along these were made by the mountaineers for their own use, but with the utmost economy of labour, and on the presumption of an almost preternatural agility in the persons by whom they were to be leaped over. Sometimes faces of rock almost perpendicular were to be scaled, where "irregularities for the toe to hang upon were at a "most inconvenient distance." At one place Mr Moorcroft's foot slipped, and he was for a moment poised in the air, till by a leap and catching hold of a bush, which happily did not give way, he found himself in a safer position. Projecting points in the rock were turned by rude staircases made of wood and stone. Recesses were passed by trees laid across, and covered with loose stones. In these circumstances the eyes durst not rove abroad, or withdraw themselves for a moment from the lower extremities, otherwise the most serious accidents might have been the result. Their alarms would have been less, could this tottering path have been depended upon for remaining in a fixed state; but, from the combined action of frost, thaw, and avalanche, the mountain walls of this vast avenue are continually falling. Frequently vast masses of rock pour down

in broken fragments, burying all the roads, tracks, and bridges beneath, and making new cataracts in the beds of the rivers. Sometimes they were awaked at night by a tremendous crash produced by such a convulsion. In one place all the cliffs forming the side of a mountain had separated, and lay in ruins at its foot. At another, a forest covering the face of a hill, with the earth upon which it stood, had been broken off, and the trees were either thrown to a distance, or lay with their branches turned towards the base of the hill, and their roots up to the sky. Mr Moorcroft being once awakened by a pattering sound, looked out and saw that it was a shower of stones descending from the heights above; and several of the fragments came down in such size and force as would have been fatal to any one against whom they struck. This phenomena became more serious some days after, when it came across the path along which they were travelling, and they remained for some time in great fear, though luckily no collision took place, unless against the leg of a Pundit, who was not materially injured. When the road was destroyed by any of these accidents, the barbarous government now reigning took no pains to re-establish it. The mountaineers were, therefore, obliged in its stead to trace among the broken cliffs some track by which a goat could scramble, and which custom also ren-

dered passable for themselves. Goats and sheep are the only beasts of burden which can be guided through these rugged passes. Goats climb almost any ascent without difficulty; but in going down, the load presses upon them, and often tumbles off, carrying them along with it. Sheep, on the other hand, when at all urged forward, are apt to proceed faster than on such roads is consistent with any kind of safety.

In seven days after leaving Josimath, Mr Moorcroft arrived at Malari, a village of twenty houses, situated in the corner of a triangular valley shut in by lofty mountains. The houses are roughly built of stone, cemented with clay, but usually consist of two or even three stories. The lower is occupied by the cattle, while the upper, in which the family reside, is ornamented in front with flowers, and figures of Hindoo deities. They contain neither lock nor bolt, but to the outer door is fastened a rope, and to it a large dog, which proves a vigilant guardian. The inhabitants had somewhat of the Tartar features mixed with the Hindoo, and called themselves Rajeputs, but regarded so little the laws of cast as to devour raw flesh, when it could be got, with the utmost eagerness. They dress in coarse cloths, which the women, with great industry, weave from the wool of their own sheep, and which are worn neither bleached nor dyed. Both

the sexes were filthy to excess both in their persons and houses, yet this did not prevent the females from being largely covered with ornaments. These people carry on a little trade between Thibet and Serinagur, importing from the former borax and salt, which they convey on the backs of their own goats and sheep. The present were merely their summer habitations; for in winter they retire to lower grounds on the northern side of the mountains.

In two days from Malari, our party arrived at Niti, the extreme village on this frontier of India, consisting of from sixteen to eighteen very wretched houses. On being introduced to the Sehana or governor, that person expressed much doubt as to the propriety of permitting them to proceed. He observed, that this was not a road usually frequented by pilgrims; that they were armed; that report stated them to be either Gorkhalis or Firingis (Europeans). By strong demonstrations of their pacific intention, the travellers could only obtain an agreement that a messenger should be sent to know the pleasure of the Deba or viceroy, who resided at the nearest town in the Undes. It was necessary to remain at Niti till his return. During this stay, our traveller was struck by the remarkable vicissitudes of heat and cold. The thermometer between morning and evening varied from 70° to

80°. In the morning, three cotton coverings and one of thick woollen were found barely comfortable; but as the day advanced, it was necessary to throw off one after another, till at last all dress became nearly insupportable. From three o'clock, a reverse process took place, and coat was put on after coat till the whole was resumed. In the morning all the higher mountains were covered with snow fallen during the night, but which melted in the course of the day. The rivers were, in consequence, observed to be upwards of a foot higher in the evening than in the morning. These snows perpetually falling and melting, appear to afford the main supply of those numerous waters which combine in forming the great stream of the Ganges. At Niti, and a little before reaching it, they felt, for the first time, that difficult and quickened respiration which is produced by the rarefied air of the higher atmosphere. Their uneasiness was considerable, and they could not but look forward to an increase in scaling the still loftier heights which lay before them.

In about eight days two Uniyas (inhabitants of the Undes) arrived with a letter from the Deba; but this gave rise to much embarrassment, the village not containing a single individual who was able to read it. The leading persons in the neighbouring places were sent for to assist, but

none of these eminent characters could form even a conjecture as to its contents. In this extremity, the Uniyas were strictly interrogated, whether any acts or words had passed whence it might be possible to conjecture the intentions of the Deba? They stated, that he had refused the offered presents; and that news had arrived of the decease of the Lama, and of troops having been despatched to occupy all the passes, and prevent any persons who were white, or wore white clothes, from entering the Undes. Hence it was not unreasonably inferred, that the reply which had baffled all the science of Niti must contain a prohibition against the strangers proceeding farther. The travellers, however, still pressed for a more favourable interpretation; and they soon found that there was a party in the village which decidedly favoured their cause. It even transpired, that two days after the departure of the first messenger, the inhabitants, impressed with more friendly views, had sent a second one, representing them in a more advantageous light. This person arrived in a few days, bearing a message from the Deba, that he hoped the people of Niti would not supply the means of transport, otherwise, being destitute of troops, he possessed no means of preventing the entrance of the strangers into his territory. This was construed as a guarded and coquettish permission to pro-

ceed. In three days, therefore, the party was again on foot. As they continued to ascend, the difficulty of respiration, as had been foreseen, became always the more severe, till at every three or four steps Mr Moorcroft was obliged to stop, gasping for breath. This oppression was felt in ascending only, and neither in descending nor while at rest, excepting that whenever he attempted to sleep it became more painful than ever. Sometimes his whole frame was affected, and he felt a giddiness in the head, which appeared to threaten apoplexy. Although he felt no remarkable action of cold, yet his hands, neck, and face, became very red, the skin sore, and blood burst from his lips. In proceeding, the pass narrowed, till there was only room for the Dauli to flow along the joined bases of two mountains, which raised their ruined and perpendicular cliffs to an immense height on each side. Next day they began to mount towards the pinnacle of the ghaut, or pass, which separates Hindostan from the northern world of Asia. The ascent, very steep and difficult, continued for a mile and three quarters, when they reached the top. It was distinguished merely by a heap of stones, with a pole fixed in them, to which had been attached numerous pieces of cloth, now flying about in rags; a common mode in India of distinguishing those places which are accounted sacred. Our party added a specimen

to the collection. All vegetation had now disappeared, and they proceeded over a naked and stony plain, intersected by numerous ravines, which carried to the north the melting snows. Next day they came to another elevated spot, whence the ground begins sensibly to descend. Here, looking to the east, they beheld, capped with snow, the sacred mountain of Caillas, which overhangs the lake of Manasarowara. At the sight of this revered object, their guide gave testimonies of the deepest veneration, prostrating his body and head seven times, and walking leisurely and solemnly round another heap of stones which had been here erected.

From this point the road descended constantly, but by a gradual and gentle slope, instead of those abrupt steeps which they had encountered on the southern side. The rivers were no longer rapid torrents rushing along the depth of narrow glens, but flowed in level channels, and with a moderate current. Nothing particular occurred, till on the tenth day from leaving Niti they came in sight of Daba. It was perched, as it were, on the top of a rock, surrounded by a number of irregular eminences, with narrow chasms intervening. On these eminences the town was built, and on the sides of the declivities were numerous caves, secured by doors, and serving sometimes as houses, but more commonly as magazines. Behind rises

a hill of very great height. Such a situation, singular as it may seem, is affected by all the towns and villages in this region. The snow falls readily off these narrow ridges into the intervening ravine, while the eminence behind forms a shelter against the intensely cold blasts which blow through the mountainous valleys. Amer Sing, who had attended them as a friend from Niti, having waited on the Deba, received a very sharp reprimand for having been accessary to the strangers' entrance into the country, especially after having received strict orders to the contrary, for such, it seems, was the scope of the letter which had so sadly puzzled the Niti authorities. Amer Sing endeavoured to throw the whole blame upon their own obstinate determination to proceed, but did not succeed in appeasing the Deba. Next day, however, they were introduced at the court, which consisted of three great persons, the Deba, the Lama, and the Wazir, the last of whom was represented by his son. The Deba's wife, a pleasing looking young woman, with her child, were near him; and the attendants, ranged in a square, though not quite so clean as could be wished, were very orderly. The tenor of the conference was much more favourable than there seemed any reason to hope. The Deba read a letter, which he had just indited to the commander at Gortope, stating the

assurance of the people of Niti that the bearers were neither Gorkhalis nor Firingis, but Gosseins, who would demean themselves as peaceable persons. Some trifling presents were then exchanged; and soon after the Deba, with his wife and her sister, came to visit them, and survey their finery. They do not seem to have shewn very extreme courtesy to this young lady, demanding prices for all their commodities, which she thought, and which they admit to have been very exorbitant; and it was only by direct asking that she obtained the present of a ring. A pair of English boots, which ill luck brought into view, roused suspicions of their being Firingi, which were with difficulty appeased.

At Daba the civil authorities, and the members of the church, appeared in tolerable circumstances, but all the other inhabitants miserably poor. The Lama and his Gelums, or monks, resided in a college or monastery in the centre of the town. Their temples are circular at the base, diminishing as they ascend by smaller circles, and terminating in an umbrella-shaped copper roof, the pinnacle of which is gilded. The grand temple, dedicated to Narayan, which may be recollected as an appellative of Vishnu, was of an irregular form, painted red, and decorated with horns and grotesque figures. On entering a room about thirty feet square, they found the deity,

about twenty feet high, of gilded copper, and in a sitting position. Along the room were ranged in rows the greatest assemblage of Hindoo deities that Mr Moorcroft had ever seen. Considerable talent was displayed both in the expression of the countenance, and the proportion of the parts. Near the door lay leather masks imitating the faces of wild beasts and demons, destined seemingly to be used at some great festival, very probably that witnessed by Andrada. Some huge drums and trumpets of copper were likely to be intended for the same exhibition.

The Lama behaved to them in a very mild and courteous manner, and considering the wealth of the foundation, his whole deportment appeared a real and edifying picture of humility. At parting he took hold of one of their gowns, and said in a very affecting tone, " I pray you let me live " in your recollection as white as this cloth." The Gelums or monks appeared a dirty, greasy, good-humoured, happy set of people, and did not think it inconsistent with their vocation to carry on a good deal of traffic. There were said to be cavities in the rock, where grain to a considerable extent was stored up in case of scarcity. Mr Moorcroft could not obtain any wool till permission was received at Gortope, as the Cashmirian government were making the utmost exertions to

secure the monopoly of an article so essential to their manufactures.

The mission left Daba on the 12th July, after a residence of nine days. They proceeded along valleys bordered at no great distance by mountains, on which snow was occasionally falling. They passed a painted village, to which the inhabitants of Daba retire as their winter residence. Some of these rocks contained gold, but the inhabitants were able to extract it only by washing the earth at their foot. On the 17th they arrived at Gortope, which was found a mere collection of clusters of black tents, made of blankets, surrounded by hair ropes fixed to stakes. Shreds of coloured silk and cloth are fixed to the top as flags. Around the town was a vast plain, covered with the most prodigious multitudes of sheep, goats, and yaks, or Tartarian oxen. Mr Moorcroft does not think they could be fewer than 40,000. A few horses only were intermixed.

The mission was scarcely arrived at Gortope, when they were invited to visit the Deba. His mansion bore few signs of elegance or state. He was seated in a room twenty feet long, built of sods, with a flat roof formed of branches of trees, and having a hole in the centre, which served both for window and vent. They had a long conference, which went far to convince the Deba that they belonged to neither of the obnoxious

classes of Gorkhali or Firingi. On their shewing a disposition to give a good price for the shawl wool, he stated the orders of his government to be, that none should be sold unless to the merchants of Lataki (Leh or Ladak), for the Cashmirian market; but as they had come from so great a distance, and appeared persons of consequence, he would agree to place them on the same footing with those merchants. He agreed also that they should visit the lake of Manasarowara, but only by the direct road, and on condition of returning by Daba, through the Niti pass. This condition was very unacceptable, as their plan had fully been to return into Hindostan by a different route; but upon this point the Deba remained inflexible.

Gortope being the emporium of the Undes, Mr Moorcroft obtained there some information, though not very clear or consistent, concerning the countries to the north. His informants were chiefly the Tartar merchants of Ladak, who had come to purchase the shawl wool for the Cashmirian market. The governments of Ladak and Cashmire had been at frequent war; but having of late united to repel an attack of the Chinese Tartars, they formed a treaty of trade and amity, according to which the Cashmirians were not to come direct to the Undes, but were to receive the wool only through the medium of the Ladakis.

These last had been in the habit of procuring whatever they wanted in the Undes, rather by force of arms than by commerce, and that territory had been nearly ruined by their frequent incursions. To remedy this evil, the Chinese government had assigned it in jaghire to the Grand Lama; which personage was viewed with such reverence by the Tartars, who are all devoted to the Shaman idolatry, that they thenceforth desisted from these ravages, only stipulating as above for the monopoly of the wool. From Gortope to Ladak was ten or twelve days' journey, from Ladak to Baschar (which seems to be Balk), twenty, and thence to Bokhara, ten. They gave another route: Ladak to Yarcund, twenty days, and thence to Bokhara, fifteen; which would have been, as they asserted, a much shorter road to Bokhara than by Cabul; but our maps of Asia must be erroneous indeed, if that city be not much more than fifteen journeys from Yarcund. The Ooroos (Russians) came frequently to Yarcund; and it was even asserted that a party of them had reached the fair at Gortope, but they had never made their appearance at Ladak. Ladak did not produce corn for its own consumption: it yielded some shawl wool, but not so abundant or so fine as in the countries to the east. Mr Moorcroft was entertained with some Ladak music. "It reminded him much of the

Scots, and the instrument played upon strongly resembled the bagpipe; nay an overture which they performed seemed not unlike that of Oscar and Malvina. Mr Moorcroft's map indicates a north-east route of twenty days to Guinnak, the capital of Chinese Tartary. It were much to be wished that Mr Moorcroft had endeavoured to gain more information respecting this capital of Tartary, since neither it, nor any great city in that quarter or position, has, so far as I know, ever before been heard of.

On the 23d the mission left Gortope. Their road lay along the bank of the river of Gortope, which Mr Moorcroft was at first led to confound with the Oxus, but which he afterwards heard more truly described as the great, and probably main branch of the Indus, which passes by Ladak. Most of the surrounding mountains were covered with snow, and some appeared to offer indications of gold. On the 30th, having reached Misar, a place composed of one house and five tents, he received the wool stipulated for, and even a little more. Next day they reached Tirtapuri, the residence of a Lama and some Gelums, a place perched, like Daba, on a high cliff, which was surmounted by others so rugged and steep, that they seemed every moment on the point of falling down and crushing the habitations. Near this place were two hot springs, which presented

very singular phenomena. Their orifices were about six inches in diameter, and they threw up the water to the height of about four inches. This water was so intensely hot, that the hand could not endure it. Round the springs was a table of rock, about half a mile in diameter, which seemed to have been entirely formed by the deposition of the calcareous matter contained in the water. The rock near the mouth is of a pure white; afterwards it assumes different colours, and becomes variously figured and veined like marble.

On the 5th August they came in sight of what was now the grand object of their mission, the lake of Manasarowara. It appeared at the foot of a long verdant declivity, and bounded by immense mountains to the south. Next day they encamped on its banks, and viewed these celebrated and sacred waters, hid in the deepest recesses of the mountain world of India. The scene was magnificent. The lake was of an irregular oval form, about fifteen miles long and eleven broad, surmounted by tremendous crags, above which rose, clad in perpetual snow, the loftiest summits of the Himmaleh. Of all the holy places revered by a people devoted to pilgrimage, none can rival this lake. Once to behold the waves of the Manasarowara, is considered by the Hindoo as a felicity beyond every other

on earth. Although many, however, attempt, few accomplish such a pilgrimage, being arrested either by want of funds, or by the numerous obstacles encountered on the road.

The water of the lake is clear and well tasted; and no weeds grow upon it, though grass is thrown out upon its banks. The changes of temperature are very sudden and severe, from the violent heat of the sun at mid-day, interrupted by the cold blasts which issue from the rocks and ravines. Large grey wild geese frequent it in vast numbers, and aquatic eagles are perched upon the crags. The convents with which all the rocks are studded, appeared to be the abodes of recluses of both sexes; and one lady invited Mr Moorcroft, by signs, to enter her habitation; which, from the uncouth and exhausted appearance which he then made, could only, he conceives, be imputed to motives of charity.

One of the grand problems of Eastern geography consists in the question, what, or whether any, of the great rivers of India flow out of this celebrated lake? Mr Moorcroft seems to have been impressed with much anxiety to ascertain this point; but his efforts were impeded by fatigue, by sickness, and by the short time which he could now afford to employ. He went, however, along nearly the whole northern and western sides, and observed the rest with a telescope,

except one corner, which a Harkarah and Pundit were despatched to examine. The result of the whole is stated to be, that no streams of any consequence, and none whatever on the northern, western, or southern sides, issue out of the Manasarowara. I should suspect, however, that stronger evidence of such a fact is still wanting. It appears a very improbable and unprecedented circumstance, that a mountain lake, fed by such vast snows, should dispose, by mere evaporation, of the waters continually pouring into it. The fact, too, of its not being impregnated with any saline substance, militates strongly against the supposition. With regard to the telescopic survey, it would appear that a river might easily wind its way among rocks without its exit being at all visible to a distant spectator. The streams entering the lake were prominent objects, descending in torrents down the sides of the mountains; but those flowing out being necessarily on a level with the lake itself, might by no means be equally perceptible. We entertain no doubt as to the parts actually traversed by Mr Moorcroft, but have not the same full faith in his Pundit and Harkarah. There was, moreover, an old Pundit, who most vehemently asserted, that sixteen years before, he had crossed a river, which all the people of the country assured him had flowed out of this lake.

On the 8th August Mr Moorcroft began his return. On his way he had a view of the blue waters of the Rawanhrad; but the state of the roads, and of his own health, rendered a visit to it impossible. He was informed that it was four times as large as the Manasarowara, and that it enclosed some lofty mountains in the form of an island; but his distant observation did not confirm these statements. He reached Tirtapuri, whence he returned to Daba, not by way of Gortope, but by a more direct line. The only place of consequence was Kienlung, a village of a hundred houses of painted brick, perched as usual on a number of high ridges, with a higher cliff rising behind. All the road from Tirtapuri hither was full of hot springs; but while those at the former place contained calcareous matter only, here they were charged also with iron or sulphuric acid. The party having reached Daba, were warned that no time was to be lost in crossing the Himmaleh, which they effected, though not without some hazards and hair-breadth escapes.

We regret to learn, that there is little prospect of the road into Thibet becoming patent, or of the journey being soon repeated. The courteous reception given to our travellers by the Daba of Gortope excited, it seems, the highest indignation in the Chinese government. He was sus-

pended from his office, and threatened with even severer punishment. Lieutenant Webb, in attempting to follow the footsteps of Mr Moorcroft, was stopped at the frontier, and assured, that none of his countrymen would henceforth be permitted to enter the Undes.

THE mountainous range upon which this series of journeys was performed, forms undoubtedly one of the grandest features in the structure of Asia and of the globe. This long range of pinnacles, covered with eternal snow, seen by the Hindoo from the expanse of his burning plain, was always an object to him at once of wonder and of religious veneration. These mountains form a prominent feature in all his poetry and mythology, and tended probably to inspire him with grander conceptions of nature than the tame uniformity of an ordinary region. The view of this unaltered white boundary to a tropical horizon, has suggested all the names by which the range is distinguished,—the basis of which is Him or Hem, the Sanscrit term for *snow*: Hence have arisen the ancient Imaus or Emodus; the modern Himmaleh, Himadri, Himachal, and Himalaya.

It was by the expedition of Alexander that the Greeks were first enabled to form any idea of the extent and magnitude of the Indian mountains.

They were reported originally under the appellation of Caucasus. This celebrated name was already familiar to the Greeks, as applied to those formidable mountain masses interposed between the Euxine and the Caspian; and this application, undoubtedly the most proper one, is exclusively employed by Herodotus. Strabo insists, that any other use of them was entirely owing to the vanity of Alexander's followers; but considering that the Indian mountains were much more distant, and the achievement of reaching them much greater, than if they had been the real Caucasus, he is led to inquire, what gratification they could find in this transposition of name. At the time of the expedition of Jason, no mountains were known beyond Caucasus, the reaching of which appeared then an exploit almost superhuman. This idea passed into all the fable and story of the Greeks, particularly that of Prometheus, who was represented as chained to its cliffs, in the wildest extremities of nature. Caucasus, therefore, suggested to the Grecian mind ideas of more vast and romantic distance, than mountains designated by any new appellation. Strabo, however, altogether rejects this innovation upon the term, and considers the whole range of these mountains as a prolongation of the Taurus, which reaches, in his conception, from the shores of Asia Minor to those of the eastern ocean. He

only observes, that the farther extremity, where it borders on India, bears the name of Imaus.

Imaus, merely named by Strabo, is fully illustrated by Ptolemy. That writer describes a double Imaus. One, the modern Himmaleh, forms the northern boundary of India, while the other, striking off from its northern side, nearly opposite to the source of the Ganges, stretches far into Scythia, dividing that vast region into two portions, Scythia within, and Scythia without Imaus. This second range was probably that delineated in our maps under the Turkistan name of Mooz Taugh, but which I believe is also recognized in India under the name of Himmaleh. The limitary chain of India is given in its more eastern part under the name of Emodus, which, as above noticed, is radically the same word. That part of the chain again immediately west of the Indus, receives the name of Caucasus, with which Greek appellation, the native term of Hindoo Coosh might appear to harmonize. He attaches it, however, peculiarly to that branch taking a northern direction, known to the moderns under the name of Beloor Taugh. The prolongation of the chain farther west, is called Parapomisus. Pliny's views appear to be nearly similar, except that he seems to consider Imaus as the most easterly, and calls it "the Promontory of Emodus," understanding, doubtless, the part of it which touches the eastern

ocean. He enumerates, as parts of the chain linked together, and proceeding in a westerly direction, Imaus, Emodus, Caucasus, and Parapomisus, justly observing, that the two first terms in the language of the natives signified *snow*. He even adds, that Caucasus was by the people of the country called Graucasus, which signified snow also; though I am not aware of any language in which this uncouth term bears such a signification.

Among modern geographers, down to the present period, the magnitude, extent, and continuity of these chains, have by no means been fully recognized. It was only known that there were mountains on the north of India, but no particular account was given, unless of those which encircled the valley of Cachemire, and which barred the western entrance by Caubul and Candahar; the others, from the very circumstance of their being too lofty and rugged to admit the passage of armies, attracting little the notice of history. The travels of Andrada and Desideri, who crossed at different points, and gave the most formidable description of their height, obtained little notice or credit. A more full knowledge of this grand natural feature was reserved for the time when the British power, being fully established over the central and northern pro-

vinces of India, gave an opportunity to the curiosity and enterprise of their officers to penetrate into this its upper barrier. Captain Hardwicke, in the excursion to Serinagur above narrated, was struck with deep astonishment at the immense ranges of snow-clad summits, which bounded all his extensive views in a northerly direction. Colonel Kirkpatrick, in his mission to Nepaul, beheld, from the top of Cheesapani, Himmaleh "rearing its numerous and magnificent peaks, "covered with eternal snow." He afterwards saw it forming the back-ground of the still more magnificent view from the summit of Chandraghiri, which commanded a sublime amphitheatre, "successively exhibiting to the delight-"ed view, the cities and numberless temples of "the valley below; the stupendous mountain of "Sheoopoori; the still super-towering Jibjibia, "clothed to its snow-capped peak with pendu-"lous forests; and finally, the gigantic Himma-"leh, forming the majestic back-ground of this "wonderful and sublime picture." In describing the mountains overlooking the valley of Nepaul, he observes, that some of them can scarcely rank higher than *collines*, but those are far surpassed by Phalchoak and Sheoopoori, one of which was supposed to rise 3,600, and the other 4000 feet above the level of the plain. Behind Sheoopoori, however, Mount Jibjibia was seen

to raise its aspiring head 6000 feet higher, so as to sink its neighbour into a moderate colline. Jibjibia itself, however, was equally surpassed by the amazing rampart of snow which shoots up on its right, not hid even by the mighty barrier of the interposing mountains. This estimate would raise it about 20,000 feet above the valley, which is itself 4000 feet above the sea. These, however, were only loose estimates, and Colonel Kirkpatrick's observations were not published till a long subsequent period. The observations and measurements of Colonel Crawford in 1802, first gave the alarm as to the unparalleled height of the Himmaleh, and brought it into rivalry with the Cordilleras of the Andes, which had held so long undisputed supremacy over the mountains of the globe. They were not published, indeed, till the recent appearance of Dr Hamilton's work on Nepaul; but they were known to the government and men of science, and excited an anxious curiosity to investigate fully so striking a phenomenon. Colonel Colebrooke, from the plains of Rohilcund, made a series of observations upon this subject, of which two are considered particularly important; one taken from Pilibhit, at the calculated distance of 144 miles, where there was found an angle of elevation of 1° 27′; the other at Jethput, supposed 90 miles distant, giving an angle of 2° 8′. These gave respectively a height

of 20,019, and 20,598, or at a medium 20,308 feet; but as an allowance of one-third had here been made for refraction, which was judged too much, the calculation was made anew, with an allowance of only one-eighth, which gave nearly 22,000 feet. Lieutenant Webb also, in his journey to the source of the Ganges, made several observations, particularly two upon a remarkable peak near the source of the Jumna, called *Jamunavatari.* From the top of the heights called Nagunghati and Chandrabadani, supposed respectively distant 56 and 63 miles, he found angles of 3° 17′ and 2° 50′, which gives a height of upwards of 20,000 feet; and the position being at least 5000 feet above the plain, the entire elevation of Jamunavatari was consequently made to exceed 25,000 feet. As these and other observations among the mountains could not be made with sufficient leisure, and as distances, measured by the time employed in travelling over an uneven country, could not be fully relied on, it was determined to rest the main stress upon an elaborate measurement made from the plain of Gorakhpur. *Dhawalagiri*, or Dholager, "the white mountain of the Indian Alps," was pitched upon as the most conspicuous. Mr Webb took altitudes from three stations, calculated to be respectively at the distance of 86, 136, and 102 miles. The angles taken were

2° 48′, 2° 19′, and 1° 22′, from which, allowing one-twelfth for refraction, were brought out three several results, differing by about 300 feet, but the medium of which was 27,550 feet for the height of this *Mount Blanc* of the Himalaya. In the appendix to Dr Hamilton's account of Nepaul, is given the altitudes of eight large peaks, calculated from the observations of Colonel Crawford in the valley of Nepaul. They vary from 11,000 to 20,000 feet above the valley, which is itself believed to be 4000 above the sea.

From all these observations, Mr Colebrooke considers himself as well warranted in concluding, that "the Himmaleh is the loftiest range of "Alpine mountains which has been yet noticed, "its most elevated peaks greatly exceeding the "highest of the Andes." A learned critic, however, in a late number of the Quarterly Review, positively refused to admit this inference. He insisted that the measurements are yet too few, and made at too great a distance, to warrant us in forming so serious a conclusion. The distances being calculated almost solely from itineraries performed through a rugged and mountainous country, were likely to be a good deal exaggerated; and every such error goes to increase the estimated height of the observed object. The small angles, too, taken at these great distances, are liable to errors which, insignificant in those

of greater magnitude, might lead here to the most serious consequences. Above all, it was insisted, that there existed no data for ascertaining the extent to which refraction might be carried in rays coming from so vast a distance, and passing through all the extremes of temperature, between a polar and a tropical atmosphere. An appeal was made with still greater confidence to the meteorological phenomena observed by the travellers who have penetrated into the heart of the mountainous world. The point of elevation at which, in the different climates of the earth, snow never melts, has been pretty carefully calculated by Humboldt, Leslie, and other observers. In the latitude of 30° it has been understood to be somewhat less than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Moorcroft, Webb, and the other travellers into these regions, certainly describe all the great peaks of the Himmaleh as white even in the midst of summer. Their expressions, however, do not seem to point at very much more than the summits; and there is, at least, nothing to give the idea of a depth of 12 or 15,000 feet of perpetual snow,—which yet there ought to be in mountains raised 25 or 28,000 feet above the level of the sea. Again, the peak of Chumularee, passed by Major Turner in his way to Thibet, is inferred, by the distance at which it is seen from the plains of India, to be nearly 30,000 feet high.

Major Turner saw it from a plain, very lofty and cold indeed, but yet decidedly beneath the perpetual snow, and therefore not more than 10,000 feet high. It was at the distance of about three miles, and he says, "The mountain did not ap-" pear very lofty from the level of this plain." Vague as these expressions are, their application to a height of 20,000 feet, (nearly that of Chimborazo), or to any thing approaching to it, seems out of the question. It was, therefore, argued, not seemingly without some reason, that the preeminence of Himmaleh over the Andes is not yet fully proved; and that its mightiest peaks can with difficulty be supposed to exceed materially the height of 20,000 feet.

While these sheets are passing through the press, the public have received, through the medium of the same journal, an account of some farther observations of Mr Webb, by which, according to its own candid confession, the above reasoning seems to be fairly refuted. Mr Webb first attempted to penetrate into Thibet by the pass of Tuklakoot, on the eastern side of the Caillas, where it locks in with the Himmaleh; but he encountered a polite but peremptory refusal. He afterwards proceeded to Kedarnath, situated at the head of a branch of the Ganges, and one of the grand objects of visitation to the Indian pilgrims. Their aim in penetrating thither,

through countries of vast extent, across broken precipices, and mountains of eternal snow, is to view a mishapen piece of black rock, rudely resembling the hind quarters of a bullock. This object, sanctified by some ridiculous Hindoo legend, is said, upon due offerings being made, to purify from a heavy burden of sin. The highest merit, however, is obtained by those who throw themselves headlong from a snowy precipice in the neighbourhood of this shrine. Immediately before Mr Webb's arrival, three unhappy women had set out to devote themselves in this manner; but after wandering three days and three nights amid the snows, they returned without being able to find the place. They were reduced by cold and hunger to the most deplorable state; one of them died soon after, and the other two had several limbs mortified; yet these physical sufferings were considered light in comparison of the mental agony which they endured from believing that the deity had considered them as a sacrifice unworthy his acceptance.

From Kedarnath Mr Webb ascended to the Niti Ghaut, where he had been preceded by a Mr Traill, who was sent to make arrangements, if possible, for a commercial intercourse. To his overtures, as well as those of Mr Webb, the Uniyas expressed their own extreme readiness to admit the English; but at the same time added,

that it was impossible to do so without permission from the court of China, which they sanguinely hoped to receive, but which they certainly never will receive. In this journey Mr Webb confirmed all the observations of Mr Moorcroft. He found that there really were cypresses and cedars, though not of such large dimensions as Mr Moorcroft had supposed. He experienced the same oppression and difficulty of breathing, and even tendency to apoplectic symptoms, marks of the highly rarefied state of this elevated atmosphere, produced by elevation. The natives experience a similar influence, which they call "the poisonous "atmosphere," and imagine it to arise from the effluvia of particular flowers.

The most important result, however, of Mr Webb's present journey consisted in the series of barometrical observations, by which he ascertained, with all the accuracy of which this method admits, the altitude of these high passes of the Himmaleh. He carried with him four good barometers, the indications of which corresponded in such a manner as to leave no suspicion of any material error. According to these, compared with a journal kept by Captain Hardwicke at Dumdum, about 50 feet above the level of the sea, the elevation of the Niti Ghaut is 16,814 feet. Yet there was no snow, either on it or on the mountain-cliffs rising to the height of 300

feet above it. The line of perpetual snow, therefore, does not, at this point, begin till at least 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. Mr Webb also, seeing the Sutledge rolling through the table land beneath, took the angle of depression which its nearest point made with his station; the result of which was, that the elevation of its bed and of the plain which it watered, was very nearly 15,000 feet. Yet it not only afforded pasture for large herds of cattle, but yielded excellent crops of the *Ooa*, a peculiar species of mountain wheat. The circumstance which, at first view, might least have been expected, was, that this mild temperature at such prodigious heights was confined to the northern side of the Himmaleh. On the southern, as at Kedarnath and other points, the perpetual snow seems to establish itself not much above the estimated point of 12,000 feet.

The cause assigned in the above journal for these phenomena, appears equally ingenious and solid. It had been observed by Humboldt himself, that the temperature of the higher regions mainly depends on the heat radiated upwards from the earth, and gradually diminishing as it ascends. It follows, that the peaks which rise above an elevated and broad table land, should enjoy a higher temperature than those which shoot up to the same height from the level of a plain.

The table land to the north of the Himmaleh is undoubtedly the loftiest on the globe, being from 5000 to 6000 feet higher than that on which Chimborazo rests. I would add, that it is close, being shut in by the mighty ranges of the Mooz Tag, the Belur Tag, and the Himmaleh: it is thus not liable to be diluted by mixture with the atmosphere of the same elevation which rises above the plains. This table land is also so extensive as to form a sort of general rise in the base of the earth; though I do not conceive that it can include Balk, Bokhara, or Samarcand, which lie west of the Belour; nor can it even be certainly considered as extending northwards as far as the Altai.

Only a general outline can now be given of a journey which promises to prove one of the most interesting made in this part of Asia. Mr James Baillie Fraser set out from Delhi, and after ascending the Jumna, crossed by Nahan to the Sutledge, and explored some part of its higher course. He then penetrated to the point where the Jumna rises beneath the grand peak of Jumnavatri, the collected produce of numerous small streams formed by the melting of its snows. He now crossed a ridge of the snowy mountains to the Bhagirath, which, though not the longest, is always accounted the chief and most sacred branch

of the Ganges. He penetrated to Gangoutri, which former European travellers had in vain attempted to reach. He found it impossible to proceed farther, but his observations, and the testimony of the inhabitants, afforded every reason to believe that this mighty river rises about five miles due east from Gangoutri, in a vast basin of eternal snow, enclosed within the five mighty peaks of Roodroo Himala. This king of the Indian mountains is also invested by Indian superstition with the name of Mahadeo, an appellation appropriated to Siva or the power of destruction, who is supposed to have erected his throne amid the depth of its snows.

Mr Fraser was unfortunately not provided with any instruments for measuring the altitude of these mighty pinnacles, into whose close vicinity he thus adventured. In approaching that great peak from which the Jumna descends, he and his companions mounted to a point, which, from its height above the limit of perpetual snow, as well as from the excessive cold, tendency to sleep, and difficulty of respiration, was judged to be about 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. The peak, being now distant in a direct line about two miles and a half, was estimated to be 4000 feet above the position. This gives an entire height of 21,000 feet, being 4000 less than the estimates made by Mr Webb and Mr Cole-

brooke. In general Mr Fraser was impressed with the belief, that the greatest peaks in this loftiest part of the Himmaleh varied from 18,000 to 22,000, or at most 23,000 feet. It is probable, however, he may not have made sufficient allowance for the high level of the perpetual snow noticed by Mr Webb. From the Bhagirath to the valley of Nepaul he considers the most elevated part of the range, the mountains to the east and west declining gradually in height.

The central and loftiest part of this astonishing chain of mountains seems clearly to be that which gives rise on one side to the Ganges and its mighty tributaries, and on the other to the Indus, the Brahmapoutra, and the Sutledge. As it proceeds westward into Bootan, although snowy peaks are still interspersed, the openings become wider, and the general character of the barrier less formidable. Farther east, when continued under the names of Duleh, Landeh, and Ootrocole (probably the Ottarocoras of Ptolemy), although high and rugged, it is no longer characterized as snowy. Dr Hamilton entertains no doubt of its being the same which covers the Chinese province of Yunan, and thence extends across the empire as far as the ocean, forming the northern boundary of Quangsee and Quangtong, and causing the only interruption to the

navigable communication between Pekin and Canton. Although, however, this part of the range be also high, it ceases to bear comparison with the immense peaks of Himmaleh.

From its central point near the source of the Ganges, the chain proceeds in a north-westerly direction till it reaches the frontier of Cachemire. It then takes a direction due west, which, amid various windings, it follows pretty constantly for about nine degrees of longitude, till it reaches a lofty peak near Caubul, called Hindoo Coosh; which name is pretty generally applied to all this part of the chain. It is also in our maps called Indian Caucasus, a name for which there seems little place, being derived solely from the ancient error above noticed. Hindoo Coosh yields little in magnitude to Himmaleh, and has its summits equally clothed in everlasting snow. Mr Macartney says, "I took the distance of some of the "most remarkable peaks by cross bearings with "the theodolite, and found, at the distance of "100 miles, the apparent altitude of some was "1° 30′, which gives a perpendicular height of "20,493 feet; but of course this could not be "positively depended upon for so small an angle "and so great a distance." After passing Hindoo Coosh, the chain sensibly declines, and is covered with snow only during four months in the year. Opposite to Candahar, therefore, is

the usual point for the passage of great caravans and armies between India and Tartary. Our maps now use the ancient name of Parapomisus, formerly given from the name of the country through which it here passes. The ranges which traverse the Persian empire have not been fully traced; but this great central one of Asia forms probably a continuous line with the Elburz and others, which run along its northern frontier, and through them may connect itself with the mountains of Armenia, and even with the Euxine Caucasus, though this communication did not probably enter into the view of those who gave the name of Caucasus to the Indian mountains.

The limitary mountain ridge of India declines in the north into the high table land of Thibet; but immediately after it swells into another enormous chain, which, though it presents a less sensible rise from its lofty base, has been supposed even to exceed its neighbour in absolute elevation. To this the maps give the Turkish name of Mooz Taugh, though I was assured by Dr Hamilton that in India it is universally considered as only another branch of Himmaleh. I conceive it to be the *Imaus conversus ad Arctos* of Ptolemy, who particularly describes the peril and difficulty with which it was crossed by the Seric caravans. Precisely at the point indicated by him, a branch of it, under the name of Mount

Caillas, runs southwards, and locks in near Lake Mansarowara with the Indian Himmaleh. What may be its progress to the east and north-east seems quite unknown, though some great mountain structure seems there necessary to give rise to the mighty streams which water China and India beyond the Ganges.

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH EMBASSIES TO THIBET.

Bogle.—Turner.

WHEN the British forces, under the administration of Mr Hastings, carried their arms northwards to the mountain boundary of Hindostan, they came unexpectedly upon an enemy bearing no resemblance to any they had been accustomed to cope with on the plains. These warriors were clothed in furs, and armed with bows and arrows; their appearance was uncouth, their assault furious; and when their spoil, consisting of arms, clothes, utensils, and the images of their gods, were brought to Calcutta, these objects were all found to be decidedly Tartar. This was the people of Bootan, who, it seems, were on their part still more astonished when, instead of the timid and naked Hindoos flying before them at the first assault, they saw troops uniformly clothed and accoutred, moving in regular order, and pouring forth such deadly vollies of musketry and artillery. It was soon judged

that these would be very serious persons to deal with in a hostile manner; and the Teshoo Lama, the spiritual sovereign of this mountainous region, judged it wise to send a mission to Calcutta to mediate a peace between the British government and the Daeb Raja, the immediate governor of Bootan. The mission brought with them presents of gold, gold dust, musk, Thibet woollens, and Chinese silks, which gave a very favourable idea of the wealth and trade of this unknown region. Mr Hastings made, therefore, no hesitation in granting the demand; and conceiving that competent advantages might be derived from an intercourse with this new people, or at least that they were worth knowing, he sent a mission to Teshoo Loomboo, at the head of which was Mr Bogle, a very intelligent and judicious person. Mr Bogle made his way, after some difficulty, through the rugged tracts of this unknown country, spent several months at Teshoo Loomboo, where he was received with the utmost courtesy, and returned to Calcutta in fifteen months. A premature death unhappily frustrated the design which he had formed, of presenting the public with a narrative of this interesting journey. A letter from Mr Stewart, one of the mission, gives some particulars of the country through which they had passed; but upon this we shall not have occasion to dwell, as it is superseded by the more copious in-

formation obtained during the subsequent embassy.

In consequence of the favour enjoyed by Mr Bogle at the court of Teshoo Loomboo, considerable hopes were entertained, not only of an intercourse with the country itself, but through it with China. At the period, it seems, of the ambassador's departure, the Lama was preparing to set out on a visit to that country. Some time after, however, the melancholy accounts were received that he had been taken ill and died at Pekin; an event which threw a deep gloom over the fair prospects which had appeared to open. It was not long, however, before the joyful tidings were conveyed to Calcutta, that the Lama had reappeared on earth, in the form of an infant of about a year old; who having displayed all the characteristic marks of identity, was accepted by the nation as its spiritual head and sovereign. Mr Hastings, anxious to cultivate the connexion with his old friend, even under these reduced dimensions, determined to send another mission to Teshoo Loomboo. At the head of it was Major Turner, accompanied by Mr Saunders, and by Mr Davies, who acted as draftsman.

Major Turner set out from Calcutta at the beginning of 1783. He passed through the level, and in many parts swampy plains of Bengal, till he arrived at the foot of the hill on which is situ-

ated Buxadewar, the frontier fortress of Bootan. The road then became steep and rugged, and rocks of coarse marble crossed their path. The prospects became now inconceivably grand, presenting hills clothed to the summit with trees, deep and dark glens, and the tops of lofty mountains lost in the clouds. As the road wound along the sides of the mountains, it often became only a narrow ledge, overhanging depths almost unfathomable; along which fear would have rendered it impossible to advance, had not the trees and climbing shrubs which lined the precipices somewhat concealed the appearance of danger. The whole district at the foot of these mountains is choked, rather than clothed, with a rank luxuriance of vegetation, which, combined with excess of heat and moisture, generates amid these impervious woods an atmosphere truly fatal to the human constitution. The British detachment which made war there in 1772 almost entirely perished; and the few who survived suffered through life under its pernicious effects. The natives, whom habit enables to subsist in this pestilential air, are a stunted race, meagre and diminutive, and bearing in their aspect sickliness and deformity. The embassy were refreshed in this journey with chong, an agreeable acid liquor, which they chuse to call whisky, but which seems to be rather a species of beer,

produced by pouring warm water upon fermented grain, and draining the juice through a basket.

Buxadewar was found to be a fort situated on a mountain, where an artificial plain had been formed for the purpose. The subah or governor received them well, but shewed very little disposition to forward them in their journey. They were detained many days, and only succeeded by urgency, and even threats, in procuring the necessary travelling accommodations. Having at length found means to set out, they began to ascend a succession of high mountains bearing thick forests, while the ground was covered with bamboos, and with a species of creepers, which, from their length, pliancy, and firmness, were perfectly fit for being used as ropes. Part of the road was only two feet broad, composed of loose stones, and overhanging a precipice of stupendous height. A fine Arabian horse, which they were conveying as a present to the Lama, fell down, and was killed; nor was Major Turner without apprehension that he himself would have shared the same fate. At length they reached Murichom, a village most delightfully situated upon a small plain at the top of a very high mountain. The air was perfectly cool and temperate, like that of the finest climates of Europe. Much cultivated land was seen around this place; the sides of the

mountains were levelled, and formed into terraces, enclosed within a ridge, by which they could either retain or let off the water. Peach trees abounded in the fields, with strawberries and raspberries. Specimens of the cinnamon tree were also shewn to them, though they could not fully ascertain whether it were the true cinnamon, or the species called cassia.

Leaving Murichom, they ascended still higher, into scenes which might justly be deemed the grandest and most awful in nature. Lofty mountains, covered with noble trees, hid their heads in the clouds, while their sides were diversified with abrupt precipices, deep dells, and cascades that dashed from an amazing height; and beneath, a large river was rolling through stones and rocks with furious impetuosity. They found here, extended over a chasm, a bridge composed only of two ropes and a hoop, like that described by Captain Raper. The great river Tchintchin was crossed by a bridge of iron chains about 150 feet long, so constructed, however, that it swung with the motion of the passenger. It was ascribed to Tehuptehup, who now ranked as a divinity, though he had probably been once a mere mortal architect. The route continually ascended, and the travellers' eyes were edified with the view, not only of apple, pear, peach, and apricot trees, but of the homelier English plants, docks,

nettles, primroses, and dog-rose bushes. The note of the cuckoo also recalled to them the scenes of their native country. Even pines, the characteristic of the northern regions, began to appear.

The mission now arrived at Tassisudon, the residence of the Daeb Raja, the immediate ruler of Bootan. It is situated in a very fertile plain, or rather glen, entirely embosomed in wooded mountains. On intimating their arrival to the Raja, they were informed that the death of an eminent Gylong required from him a certain period of devout seclusion, during which he could give audience to no one. They were somewhat dissatisfied with this reply, suspecting it to proceed from shyness; but they had afterwards cause to think that it contained only the true reason. They declined, however, as not suitable to their dignity, the invitation to visit some of the principal ministers. At length they were conducted to the palace, or rather lofty citadel, in which the Raja resided. After passing through various apartments, and mounting several lofty ladders, they reached his apartment, situated in the highest part of the edifice. It was small, but neat, painted blue, and partly ornamented with curtains and gilding. The Raja was seated cross-legged upon a pile of cushions, dressed in a religious habit, composed of a vest of thick woollen

cloth, which left the arms bare. On his right hand was an escrutoir of papers, and on his left a cabinet of diminutive idols, with a variety of consecrated trinkets. His figure, though much covered, appeared tall and muscular; and his manner shewed great composure and dignity. The letter of the Governor-general was produced, but being in Persian, could not be read by any one present; and Major Turner being asked if his visit had no other object than its delivery, could only profess his strong feelings of esteem and reverence for the exalted name of the Raja. Tea was then served, not in the European manner, but beat up with flour, butter, salt, and other ingredients, forming a mess by no means agreeable to the palates of the mission. The servant who presented it to the Raja, poured a quantity into the palm of his hand, and drank it off; a custom transmitted perhaps from remoter times, but which must have been suggested by the suspicion of poison. The English departed, on the whole, with no unfavourable impression. They were soon after invited to another interview, when the prince made very minute inquiry concerning the customs of their nation, and particularly examined their clothes. He admitted, that their costume was convenient, particularly the pockets, but evidently thought it deficient in dignity, from the too great exposure of the person. His pro-

fessions of friendship no longer knew any bounds; he declared, that in the process of transmigration, Mr Hastings and he had emanated from the same soul; he considered him, therefore, not only as a friend, but another self, and felt particular pleasure in seeing a person who enjoyed so much of his confidence. After this interview, Major Turner paid a round of visits to the principal ministers, who were the Zoompoon, or military commander, the Zoondonier, or treasurer, and the Zempi, or master of ceremonies. He was then asked to dine with the Raja, where he preferred having his own repast brought to him. The English thus dined in a sumptuous manner, while the prince fared on roots and boiled rice, refusing every offered delicacy. They left, however, as by mistake, some claret and raspberry jam, which they had reason to suspect were not wholly neglected.

In this palace of the Lama were accommodated fifteen hundred Gylongs, (called also Gellongs or Jelums), the monks of the religion of Shamanism, or Buddha, which is established in this, as in all the countries bordering on Hindostan. The party were roused at sunrise by their loud orisons, which were repeated at twelve, and at sunset, when the gates were closed. Strict celibacy is enjoined on this priesthood; and no females are allowed to enter the palace, except a few for

menial purposes; though these are remarked as the prettiest that were to be seen. Once a-week the whole body went in procession to bathe in a neighbouring river; when the embassy from their windows could observe, that they were generally vigorous, well proportioned, and free from any species of deformity. The only exception consisted in the wen or goitre, which prevails all along the Himmaleh, as in the mountainous regions of Europe.

The Booteas have invariably black hair, with the small black pointed eyes, and broad, flat, triangular face, which distinguish the Mongols and Chinese. Their beard is exceedingly scanty; a defect which afflicts them greatly, and they viewed with envy its copious growth upon an English countenance. Their palaces and monasteries are handsome and spacious buildings; yet they labour under the defect of having no chimneys, a fire being kindled, during the cold season, in the middle of the room, whence the smoke must find its way out as it best can. They have a very plain useful species of aqueduct, composed of the trunks of trees, hollowed and joined to each other, which is continued often for several miles. The fields abounded in strawberries; but the Gylongs marvelled much to see the English feasting upon a fruit, which they themselves viewed with the utmost disdain.

After the embassy had resided for about a month at Tassisudon, the state became threatened with a serious convulsion. A discontented chief having obtained possession of the strong castle of Wandipore in the eastern part of the country, raised openly the standard of rebellion, and marched to attack the capital. That place, destitute of any strong fortifications, was wholly unprepared for resistance. The English were consulted as to the means of rendering serviceable two old cannons, but found them in such a state, that the only advice from which they could promise any benefit, was that no one should attempt to touch them. It was thought, had the rebels pushed on vigorously, that they would have gained the place; but they spent their time skirmishing in the adjacent villages, till the strength of the country was assembled. It consisted merely in common labourers and mechanics, who poured in from the neighbourhood, and had arms put into their hands. The English had now an opportunity of seeing the array of Bootan warfare. All the bells of the place being violently rung, the troops rushed out, brandishing their weapons, amid wild and savage shouts, and an air of daring defiance; but no sooner did they find themselves within reach of the enemy's fire, than they paused at once, and hastily betook themselves to all the bushes and

hiding holes they could find. They remained thus closely under covert, only now and then starting up, firing a random shot, and then hastily replacing themselves under shelter. In this heroic warfare the insurgents for some time had the advantage, and gained possession of the principal villages around Tassisudon. At length the loyal army having collected its force, made a grand sally, and though their boasted show of courage soon evaporated, yet the adversaries not being more intrepid, sensibly lost ground. At length it proved that their ammunition was exhausted, and they had nothing left, but to pelt the loyal army with stones. In this state of things a conference was held at the principal village, when it was understood to be stipulated, that the rebel troops should retreat without being molested. A large army instantly started, as if by magic, from a place where before there had only been seen, peering among the bushes, the end of a bow, or the tuft of a helmet; and the whole was soon in full retreat. The war had been exceedingly bloodless, and the success being followed up by the siege and reduction of Wandipore, all the rebels fled and dispersed. Major Turner then accepted the Raja's invitation to visit Wandipore. He found it a pretty strong fortress, situated on a high mountain, surrounded at a little distance by others much higher, one of

which, named Ghassa, was covered with perpetual snow. It was approached by a bridge of large dimensions, composed only of fir, which had lasted a hundred and fifty years. They then visited Punukka, the summer palace of the Raja, an elegant structure, on which he was said to have spent larger sums than on any other in his possession. The prince, however, being absent, a surly porter, alleging the distracted state of the country, denied them admission. They saw only the gardens, which were handsome and well kept. Mr Bogle had left the potatoe, but it had been cultivated with so little skill or care, as to produce nothing larger than a boy's marble. No country, it is said, could supply itself so amply with fruit as Bootan, from the infinite variety of its climate; but this, as well as the other luxuries of the table, are despised by this austere and religious people.

On his return to Tassisudon, Major Turner was not long of setting out for the Thibetian court of Teshoo Loomboo. Not being permitted to have more than one companion, he was obliged with regret to leave behind Mr Davis, the draftsman. The ascent here was continual, though gradual. They passed the fortresses of Paro and Dakka Jeung, which guard the passes leading from Thibet. After passing the last, the scene became more wild and bleak; the mountains were

bare and rugged, or clad only with pines; and the river was heard furiously dashing in the rocky glens beneath. They now met the *yak* or ox of Thibet and Tartary, distinguished by the profusion of soft hair, in some parts resembling wool; and by the large tails of glossy hair, which, under the name of chowries, are in universal demand over India. It does not properly low, but makes a faint grunting noise. The milk is excellent, and they are well fitted for carrying burdens, but are never employed in agriculture.

Soon after, the travellers entered a glen which appeared to them marked by the deepest gloom they had ever beheld. The mountains rose on each side to such a height, as to exclude the sun at noon-day; while the river, unseen, was heard roaring amid a profusion of dark foliage, the growth of rank and luxuriant moisture. Above, the cliffs were strewed with withered pines, which rattled their dry branches when agitated by the wind. The solitude seemed uninterrupted by any living being, human or brute. Emerging hence, they began to ascend a very lofty mountain, which carried them up into almost an arctic world. Even the pine and fir were seen no longer; the ground afforded only a few stunted shrubs and scanty herbage. These, during the day, were cropped by large herds of the yak, summoned home at night by a signal. Wheat

was raised in a few spots, not for grain, but to be cut green for forage. These plains were habitable only during the summer; and in winter their inhabitants, with all their herds, migrated into lower pastures. One night the author considers as literally passed in the clouds, one of which blew across the tent and wetted it through and through. In the cavities of the rocks were seen many parties of Booteas regaling themselves with tobacco. They were often laughing heartily, and presented a perfect picture of joy and good humour. A great proportion consisted of females, who presented a most florid picture of health, and with their jet black hair, and clear black eyes, combined a bloom which no English milkmaid could rival.

At the pinnacle of this lofty ascent, they came to a pole fixed in loose stones, and waving with numerous little flags, which, according to a custom, of which we have seen other examples, marked the boundary between Bootan and Thibet. They now made a small descent into the plain of Phari, which being about ten miles in length, and four in breadth, presented a greater expanse of flat surface than they had seen since leaving India. They were received into the castle of Phari, and hospitably entertained by the Lama, governor of a wide domain of rocks and deserts. They supped on a dish of mutton boiled with

milk and spices, which afforded a better specimen of cookery than they had met with in Bootan; and they reposed at night in a monastery, "amid "gods and whirligigs." In explanation of this last term it is to be noticed, that a painted wheel with gilded letters, being made by the hand to revolve on its axis, forms one of the most favourite and devout exercises of the Shaman religion.

On leaving Phari, the road again ascended, and the surrounding mountains became of vast dimensions. About three miles to the right they beheld, towering in snowy grandeur, Chumularee, the sovereign of all that world of mountains which interposes between India and Eastern Thibet. This peak is a sacred object in the eyes of a Hindoo; and several of that nation went off the road to pay their homage to it. It did not appear very lofty from the elevated plain on which they now stood, and which formed doubtless the highest level on this part of the Himmaleh, since the streams, which had hitherto taken a northern direction, flowed now southwards into the great receptacle of the Brahmapoutra. After this, the ranges of snowy summits, formerly seen to the north, appeared in the south; but they had now a foreground, not of woods, but of brown heath and russet rocks, which greatly heightened their effect; and the light streaming upon their varied

forms, produced an unrivalled grandeur and beauty of effect.

The author, on passing from Bootan to Thibet, draws the following striking parallel between these two countries:—" Bootan presents to the view nothing but the most mishapen irregularities; mountains covered with eternal verdure, and rich with abundant forests of large and lofty trees. Almost every favourable aspect of them, coated with the smallest quantity of soil, is cleared and adapted to cultivation, by being shelved into horizontal beds; not a slope or narrow slip of land between the ridges lies unimproved. There is scarcely a mountain whose base is not washed by some rapid torrent, and many of the loftiest bear populous villages amidst orchards and other plantations, on their summits and on their sides. It combines, in its extent, the most extravagant traits of rude nature and laborious art.

" Thibet, on the other hand, strikes a traveller as one of the least favoured countries under heaven, and appears to be in a great measure incapable of culture. It exhibits only low rocky hills, without any visible vegetation, or extensive arid plains, both of the most stern and stubborn aspect, promising full as little as they produce. This climate is cold and bleak in the extreme, from the severe effects of which the inhabitants

are obliged to seek refuge in sheltered valleys or hollows, or amidst the warmest aspects of the rocks. Yet, perhaps, Providence, in its impartial distribution of blessings, has bestowed on each country a tolerably equal share. The advantages that one possesses in fertility and in the richness of its forests and its fruits, are amply counterbalanced in the other by its multitudinous flocks and invaluable mines. As one seems to possess the pabulum of vegetable, in the other we find a superabundance of animal life. The variety and quantity of wild-fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds, in Thibet, are astonishing. In Bootan, except domestic creatures, nothing of the kind is to be seen."

As the travellers descended, and arrived at the distance of fifty miles from Phari, the country improved, and their eyes were greeted with the long unwonted view of houses and trees. They passed through the valley of Jhansu Jeung, distinguished by the manufacture of a thick soft woollen cloth, which is in general request over all these cold regions. The sheep to the south furnish the wool, and the mountains to the north afford the market. They passed a large monastery of the same name, then a castle called Painom; after which, an easy day's journey brought them to Teshoo Loomboo. It consisted of a monastery of three or four hundred houses, em-

bosomed in a high rock with a southern exposure. The white walls, with coloured wooden roofs, and crowned with numerous gilded canopies and turrets, gave it, when glittering in the sun, a splendid and almost magical appearance. They were immediately shewn to handsome apartments, furnished with an elegance and comfort to which they had been long unaccustomed. Complimentary messages soon passed between them and the Regent, with an exchange of white scarfs, which is in this country an indispensable prelude to personal intercourse. It must even be sent along with every letter; and the Raja of Bootan returned one from the resident at Rungpore, on account of the absence of this cumbrous accompaniment. Major Turner had soon a series of interviews with the Regent, which passed in a very friendly manner. He assured him of the entire identity of the infant Lama with the one deceased, whose character, even at these tender years, began already to manifest itself. This precious discovery had been made in the valley of Painom, where he still remained; but in a few days he was to be removed to the monastery of Terpaling, two days' journey distant, whither a grand procession would immediately go to conduct him. The ambassador could not help feeling curious to see this ceremony, but his proposition to that effect was politely declined. He

afterwards learned, that the throng to witness the Lama's removal was so immense, and the prostrations so deep, that though the distance was only sixteen miles, two days had been spent in the transportation. Major Turner obtained permission to view the mausoleum of the late Lama. He was first introduced into a court-yard, surrounded on three sides by a colonnade, on the walls of which were painted many mythological figures of gigantic size, among which was the Chinese imperial dragon. The portico was sculptured with various devices, and resembled a very large coat of arms with supporters. Before it sat a priest, who, relieved by others, prayed perpetually on this spot, and kept a sacred fire eternally burning. Two ponderous doors then opening made the whole fabric ring, and shewed that the building was merely a case to hold a most beautiful pyramid contained within it. At the base was the coffin of the late Lama, formed of pure gold; while the jewels, rarities, and articles of curious workmanship, which he had received as presents during his life, were variously arranged around it, and upon the sides of the pyramid. The floor was covered with high piles of sacred books, treating of the mysteries of the national religion.

The religion of Buddha or of the Lamas, had its origin in India, where it was for some time the

successful rival of Brahminism. After a desperate struggle; however, its professors were completely worsted. Expelled from India, they spread themselves and their faith over all Eastern Asia, Siam, China, Japan, and the whole of the vast regions of Tartary. There, under the varied titles of Buddha, Goutama, Fo, and Amida, the objects and ceremonies of worship are essentially the same. Thibet, however, may be considered as the metropolitan seat of this religion, since it contains the residence of the Grand Lama, generally revered as its head, and is the only country where its ministers hold the sovereign sway. The peculiarity of this religion seems to be, that its observances are confined entirely to the clergy, while the rest of the society, devoted to secular concerns, seem to consider themselves as having nothing to do but to revere and supply them amply with the means of comfort and subsistence. The essential object in this service seems to be noise. Of this the mission were well satisfied, by hearing the Gylongs, their neighbours, at their morning orisons, when the most eager emulation appeared, which should outcry the other; and their lungs having attained by practice to a strength almost Stentorian, the vociferation produced was quite astonishing. It was seconded, however, on solemn festivals by the most powerful instruments of sound, drums, trumpets, cymbals, bautboys, all of

three or four times the magnitude that they are ever seen elsewhere. These Gylongs reside in convents, and observe celibacy to all appearance strictly and even cheerfully. The task of continuing the species seems considered as a mean drudgery, fit only for the lower ranks, to whom it is abandoned. All that is great in church and state, is unmarried. There are two rival sects called Gyllookpa, and Shamar or Shaman. The former, after a struggle, prevailed in Thibet and Bootan, though their adversaries are now tolerated, and have several great monasteries in that country. They have spread themselves also extensively over Tartary, where the Shaman worship is now prevalent. The Thibetians still view Hindostan as the original source of their religion and learning; and Benares, Jaggernaut, and Sagur, as the places to which pilgrimage is most meritorious.

The people of Teshoo Loomboo did not appear to have any use of arms, and trusted for protection solely to the religious veneration with which they inspired the neighbouring nations. They were in a certain dependence upon the Chinese, whom they viewed with mingled fear and aversion. The character of the people is very favourably painted. They are represented as humane, mild, obliging, unassuming in superiors, respectful in inferiors. The most remarkable feature is the form of polygamy, which gives several husbands

to one female. All the brothers of a family, however numerous, are accustomed to have only one wife. Major Turner oddly conjectures, that marriage is considered here so heavy a burden, that a family are willing to lighten it by sharing it among them. The wife is the mistress of the house, and meets with more respect than in India; and so far as could be learned, this species of household goes on in general with great harmony.

On his return home, Major Turner stopped at the monastery of Terpaling, where he had the satisfaction of being admitted to an interview with the infant Teshoo Lama. They found this youthful prince and priest seated on a pile of silk cushions, with his father and mother by his side. He behaved with the most wonderful propriety. On their entrance he turned to them with a look of complacency, and while they continued in the room, kept his eyes fixed on them. When their cups were emptied of tea, he shewed evident uneasiness till they were again replenished. Major Turner having walked up and made a speech to him, the little creature kept his eye fixed upon him, and made repeated and gracious movements of the head. What private training there might have been, could not be known; but, though the father and mother were present, the child made reference for directions, neither to them, nor to any one else. He was eighteen months old, with

good features, small black eyes, and an animated expression. The officers of the household assured the embassy, that he had the same predilection for their nation which he had so strongly manifested in his state of pre-existence; and that in his infant lispings, an attempt to utter the word *English* could be clearly recognized. They took leave, promising to pay another visit, at a time when the Lama should be better able to express these sentiments.

CHAPTER III.

ACCOUNTS OF NEPAUL.

Kirkpatrick.—Hamilton.

FROM that ridge of snow-clad summits which shuts in the northern frontier of Hindostan, the descent to the great plain is by a long range of mountain territory from 80 to 100 miles in breadth. The tribe which inhabits it, possessing the hardy and warlike character usual to mountaineers, were well calculated to render themselves formidable to the peaceful and effeminate inhabitants of the Gangetic provinces. The Patans, in fact, are numbered among the most powerful enemies which the Mogul empire, in its flourishing state, had to encounter. For a long period this territory, split among a number of petty chiefs, and occupied with its own internal dissensions, acted no conspicuous part in the general theatre of India. Between the years 1765 and 1769, however, events occurred, which placed it in a more formidable attitude. The valley of Nepaul, the most fertile and populous of these districts, was invaded from the north-west by the king of

Gorkha, the warlike population of whose territories was reinforced by that of many neighbouring mountain chiefs, whom he had drawn to his standard. Though at first repulsed, he carried on during four years a series of attacks, which ended in his becoming complete master of this central part of the territory of Nepaul. This great acquisition, joined to the former territory, gave to the Gorkhalis a decided superiority over the other mountain chiefs, and they employed it in reducing successively those situated to the east and the west. The kingdom in this extended state, united under a vigorous and ambitious government, began to attract the notice of the neighbouring nations. The first striking occasion was the dispute in which it engaged with the Dalai Lama, or ruler of Thibet, in consequence of which the Gorkhalis invaded that territory, and plundered several of its most important shrines. The Chinese government, however, judged it expedient now to interfere, and sent a force for the protection of Lassa. Under its mediation, a peace was concluded, by which the Lama agreed to pay a tribute of 50,000 rupees; but as this stipulation was soon neglected, the Gorkhalis quickly recommenced hostilities. The Chinese now coming forward on a great scale, with an army of 40,000 men, not only repelled the invasion of the Nepaul troops, but pursued them into their own territory, and

advanced to within a few miles of Katmandoo. By this train of circumstances, a Chinese army was now acting within the limits of Hindostan; and its chiefs, from the elevated summits which they now occupied, might obtain a distant view of our rich possessions in the plains of Bengal. The Gorkhalis, defeated in successive battles, yielded, and submitted to the terms imposed by the Chinese government.

In the course of this contest, an application was made by the government of Nepaul, for the aid of a British military force to protect it against the Chinese invasion. Marquis Cornwallis was too prudent to commit the Company in any degree against so great a power, whom it was peculiarly their interest to conciliate. The existence, however, of Nepaul as a considerable state was thus brought into view; and it occurred, that in a commercial light, an intercourse with it might deserve to be cultivated. With this view a mission, with Colonel Kirkpatrick at its head, was sent thither in September 1792. He was tolerably received, but soon learned that there was a powerful party at court, which entirely disapproved of admitting within the kingdom English deputies, whose only object was supposed to be, to observe its strength or its weakness. Although, therefore, outward politeness was preserved, means were taken to make the mission understand, that their stay was

expected to be very short. The propositions made by Colonel Kirkpatrick, for opening a free trade with Lower Hindostan, were courteously evaded by the vague Indian compliment, that all things in the country were at his command. He was obliged therefore to leave Nepaul, after a stay of about a fortnight, without any other result than that of having obtained some knowledge of its extent, resources, and general character. Dr Francis Buchanan (now Hamilton) afterwards spent fourteen months in the vicinity of Katmandoo, the capital, and employed with characteristic care and diligence the opportunity thus afforded of collecting information. The relations of Kirkpatrick and Hamilton may enable us to form a pretty accurate idea of a territory so striking from its physical situation, and important from the hostile relations which it has maintained, and may probably hereafter maintain, with the British possessions in India.

Nepaul consists of a series of mountain chains, with deep valleys interposed, descending as it were by steps from the immense height of the snowy mountains to the level plain of southern Hindostan. The tract which immediately borders on our territories is called the Tarryani, and consists of an extent of level territory, about twenty miles in breadth, skirting the whole southern frontier of Nepaul. This tract the former sovereigns of In-

dia judged it wisest to abandon to them, as it could not be preserved at all events from inroad and devastation. The soil is extremely fertile, but from its precarious political state, and the contentions of which it was so often the theatre, a great portion of it has been left in the state of wood. It abounds with wild animals, particularly elephants, though these are said to be a somewhat inferior breed. The air at certain seasons is almost pestilential, which forms as it were a barrier round the country, no army having attempted to act in it without the most severe loss.

The next region, nearly of the same breadth, consists of low hills, rising towards the north, and watered by numerous streams descending from the mountain barrier behind. It is covered with an almost uninterrupted forest, composed of a vast variety of trees, mostly peculiar to India; but in the northern parts the pine becomes frequent. These woods are every-where animated by parrots, parroquets, and others of those species of birds which imitate the sound of the human voice. Among the trees, one of the most valuable is the species of mimosa, from the juice of which catechu, or Indian rubber, is manufactured, a substance which a number of people are employed in preparing. A species of cinnamon also occurs, probably the same observed by Major Turner in Thibet; but it appears to be

merely the lignea cassia, of which the root only has any aromatic virtue. These hills are diversified by broad valleys called *duns*, a term synonymous to the Scottish *strath*. Some small parts of these are cleared, but in general cultivation is much neglected, which may be owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, and must also tend to increase it.

Above this expanse of low wooded hills towers the mountain region of Nepaul. It consists, however, not of an uniform table land, but of a number of irregular ridges, with deep and uncommonly narrow valleys interposed. The largest, which is that of Nepaul Proper, is not supposed to exceed twelve miles from north to south, and nine from east to west; while that of Noakote, which is next to it, is only four or five miles in length, and scarcely two in breadth. These valleys, though low in comparison of the mountain masses which tower above them, are considerably higher than the level of the plain of Hindostan. Dr Hamilton made a calculation, though in a rude manner, by which that of Nepaul was made to possess an elevation of 4000 feet. They enjoy thus nearly the temperature of the south of Europe, and being profusely watered, yield, under careful cultivation, very large crops of grain. The sides of the mountains being formed into terraces, on which they are able to increase or diminish the supply

of water almost at pleasure, Dr Hamilton considers the crops as surer than in almost any part of the world. The woods are magnificent, both in respect to the magnitude of the trees and the richness of foliage; and the ground is covered with flowers of every form and hue. The great deficiency is in fruit and vegetables. The extreme vicissitudes of cold, heat, and moisture, prevent the former from coming to perfection, except the orange and pine-apple, which are almost unrivalled. Vegetables are equally scanty and defective as in Bootan, and the attempt to introduce the potatoe has equally failed. This is ascribed, in both instances, to the neglect of the cultivators; though we may rather suspect that something in the climate, and perhaps in the excess of its moisture, may be the real cause.

Nepaul has been supposed to produce gold; the hope of obtaining which is said even to have formed a motive for wars undertaken against it. The rumour, however, appears to have arisen entirely from its being the channel by which part of the gold of Thibet arrives in India. Nepaul itself contains none except a few grains found in the beds of the rivers. A certain quantity of silver occurs in ores of lead and galena; but the natives have not skill sufficient to effect its separation. Copper, iron, and lead, are the three metals produced abundantly, and of excellent

quality. The first is the most extensively worked, as bearing a higher value in India than in Europe—it affords a handsome profit to the miner. The iron is said to be so excellent, that it makes knives and swords without being formed into steel. The lead is the least productive, being monopolized by the government, who allow only two mines to be worked; the rest can be worked only clandestinely. The mines of sulphur are numerous, but are not worked, on account of the deleterious qualities produced by an admixture of arsenic. The valley of Nepaul does not contain a single stone, being composed altogether of alluvial matter. The neighbouring mountains contain excellent materials for building; but the difficulty of transport leads to the general use of brick, which is produced here of peculiar excellence.

Above these mountainous valleys which form the heart of the Nepaul dominion, arises a much higher region, called Kuchar, extending from north to south about thirty or forty miles. It consists chiefly of immense rocks, broken into the most tremendous precipices, and terminating in sharp peaks, which, wherever they are not perpendicular, are covered with perpetual snows. Between these, however, there occur steep and narrow valleys, which afford pasturage, and admit of a certain degree of cultivation, which con-

tinues more or less till they approach the highest ridge of the Himmaleh, when the whole country becomes subject to everlasting winter. Through these tremendous defiles a few streams force their way from the table land of Thibet, but through openings so narrow, and overhung by such immense precipices, that they scarcely ever admit a passage along their banks. The only tracks through which travellers can proceed during two or three months in the year, are formed rather by a stream flowing to the north, meeting at its head with one which directs its course to the south. This alpine region of Nepaul is destitute of those valuable products which characterize the table land on the other side of the Himmaleh. It has neither the yak, nor the goat which yields the shawl wool, nor the mineral productions of salt and borax. It produces, however, the animal whence the musk is extracted, and contains mines of sulphur, lead, and zinc. It contains some large and beautiful birds, and its vegetable productions are very remarkable, particularly from their resemblance to those of the north of Europe. Dr Hamilton had made arrangements for bringing away specimens, which were unfortunately prevented by the disturbances between the two governments. There occur here species of juniper, of fir, of yew, and of birch. The Jatamangsi is a species of valerian valued in India

as a perfume; while the Bish is a deadly poison, which the Gorkhalis apply to the point of their arrows.

The body of the inhabitants of Nepaul, and those which have the best title to be considered as natives, are the Newars, a peaceable and industrious race, much addicted to agriculture and commerce. Their physiognomy has been commonly supposed to indicate a Chinese or Thibetian origin, which, though doubted by Colonel Kirkpatrick, is considered indisputable by Dr Hamilton; who, if there be any mixture of the high Hindoo features, imputes it to the frailty of the Newar fair ones, who, by an intercourse with strangers, have given rise to this partial alteration. Besides these are the Magars, a people who inhabit the western mountains, and who compose the chief part of the forces with which the Gorkhalis have established their present dominion. The rude mountainous regions are inhabited by tribes called Kirats, Limbus, and Lapchas, while some of the eastern tracts are occupied by natives of Bootan. These tribes form the mass of the people; but at a period now distant, large bodies of Bramins emigrated from the lower country, and having converted the natives to their system of religion, have established themselves as the first cast here as in Hindostan, and all the offices of honour and dignity are now in

their hands. It cost a hard struggle, however, to induce those hungry mountaineers to forego the use of an animal diet; and the ruder tribes, though they have consented to resign the luxury of beef, still insist upon regaling themselves with other species of meat. Indeed, the whole nation are strongly suspected of a secret hankering after the flesh pots. In other respects they are so devout, that Colonel Kirkpatrick represents the valley of Nepaul to contain almost as many temples as houses, and as many idols as inhabitants. The chief shrine, that of Sumbhoonath, situated on a height overlooking the valley, is dedicated to the religion of the Buddh. It was long dependent on the Dalai Lama at Lassa; but in the course of the late contest between that power and Nepaul, the supremacy was transferred to the Daeb Raja in Bootan. Colonel Kirkpatrick having ascended by a steep ladder, obtained a view of the interior of this celebrated shrine; but found it so filled with smoke, and strewed with various utensils, that it appeared to him rather a poor kitchen than a magnificent temple. Amid all this superstition Dr Hamilton observes, that he found dissoluteness of manners, and the maladies consequent upon it, more general here than in any other country with which he was acquainted; a circumstance which his character as

a physician gave him full opportunity of observing.

There do not seem to exist sufficient data for even conjecturing the population of the Nepaul territories. The revenues of the sovereign are derived from crown lands, which are very extensive, from mines, and from exactions on commerce, levied in a very arbitrary manner. The whole amount paid into the treasury is estimated at from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 rupees. The military force is maintained by assigning portions of land either to the private soldier or to the commander, who thereupon becomes bound to support and furnish a certain number of troops. It composed, however, a very loose and disorderly force till the ascendency of the Gorkhalis, who have enforced a much more rigorous discipline; yet this is still very inferior to that observed in the European armies.

Besides Nepaul Proper, the Gorkhali government have subjected all that series of mountain territory which extends from Bootan on the east, to nearly the frontier of Cachemire on the west, an extent of about thirteen degrees of longitude. They have thus absorbed into one the dominions of a multiplicity of petty chiefs; for the particular account of whose districts, the reader must be referred to the elaborate work of Dr Hamilton, who has traced them with that careful accuracy which distinguishes all his writings.

CHAPTER IV.

TRAVELS INTO THE COUNTRIES WEST OF INDIA.

Forster.—Elphinstone.—Kingdom of Caubul.—Pottinger.

No region of the earth is defended by such mighty barriers of nature as Hindostan. Its western frontier indeed has not that unbroken rampart of snow which bars entirely the approach from the north. It has however the continuous barrier of the Indus; and the tracts by which it is separated from Persia consist of mountains nearly as formidable, and deserts as dreary, as are to be found in any part of the globe. These regions also are inhabited by a different and ruder race, whose warlike habits have always given them a powerful influence on the destinies of Asia. Their character, with that of the region itself, tend strongly to deter the approach of travellers; and it is only of late that British enterprise has opened routes through it, which had scarcely before been traversed by Europeans.

In 1793 Mr George Forster undertook a journey overland from Bengal to Europe, and

has given a very amusing and valuable account of this unwonted route. We shall take him up at Jumbo or Jummoo, a town of Lahore, where preparations were to be made for ascending the Cashmirian mountains. This had been raised into a place of considerable trade by its former ruler Runzeid Devee, who afforded to the merchants not only negative good treatment, which is all they usually expect from an Indian prince, but positive favour and protection. He favoured alike Mahometans and Hindoos, who, in this part of India, view each other with deadly animosity. After his death, dissensions arose among his posterity, and the reigning prince retained his power only by receiving into his capital a large body of Seik troops, whose avidity he could scarcely find resources to gratify. Daily fears were therefore entertained that he would proceed to the extremity of plundering the merchants, a step from which he had hitherto abstained. The goods conveyed to and from Cachemire, are all transported by mere human labour. They are put up in bundles like knapsacks, and fastened to a stick, which is also used to assist in walking. In some of his first days of travelling over the mountains, Mr Forster found his feet much bruised and excoriated by walking over the rocky tracks. The bridges were often only logs of wood laid from rock to rock; and the large river Chinnaum was

passed in a network vehicle fastened to a rope above. The houses were usually four or six together in the recesses of the mountains, built of rude loose stones, with flat clay roofs. At Surroo or Darroo, when surrounded on every side by snow, his eye was first greeted with a view of the beautiful valley of Cachemire. The descent to it was found considerably shorter and steeper than the ascent. He at length reached Islamabad, a large town, situated on the Jalum, which passes also by the capital. His party embarked, and were proceeding to it by water, when they were stopped by a prohibition to advance farther without a passport. Mr Forster, however, was fortunate enough, in his assumed character of a Turk, to obtain the good graces of a Dewan, who was on his way to court. That chief received him into his boat, a long narrow vessel rowed with paddles, and thought magnificent here, while in Bengal it would have been judged barely suitable for a kitchen tender.

The city of Cachemire, called formerly Serinagur, extends for three miles along the banks of the Jalum. Many of the houses are handsome, being built of brick, and having roofs of timber covered with earth, on which flowers are planted. The streets however are narrow and miserably dirty, cleanliness being a quality to which this people are strangers, notwithstanding the use of

floating baths upon the river. The beauties of its lake have been celebrated by all travellers; and the whole valley is highly fruitful, yielding plentifully rice in the lower grounds, wheat and barley on the declivities of the mountains. It is traversed also by numerous streams, most of which are navigable for small vessels; so that its capacities of improvement are very great, were they not crushed by a barbarous administration. Among vegetable productions, the plane-tree is distinguished, which nowhere else spreads such a pomp of foliage, alike refreshing and agreeable to the eye in this sultry climate. The most splendid however is its rose, the boast of eastern poetry, unrivalled at once for colour and scent, and the opening of which is celebrated as a national festival. The Cashmirians are a manufacturing people; they make the best paper in the East, and excel also in cutlery and lackered ware. But their chief source of wealth arises from the wool imported from Thibet, and manufactured into those shawls, whose beauty is so well known. They complain that, under the Afghan government, the number of looms is reduced from 40,000 to 16,000. The price of a shawl at the loom varies from eight to twenty, and in some few cases, forty rupees. If it rises higher, this is owing to the flowered work sewed upon it.

Mr Forster, whose national judgments lean to

the side of severity, paints the Cashmirians in the most unfavourable colours. He describes them as licentious, volatile, profuse, fickle, rapacious, arrogant. They set no bounds either to the eagerness with which they seek money, or the thoughtlessness with which they squander it. No sooner do they possess ten shillings, than they assemble a party, launch into the lake, and while they have any remaining, think only of amusement. This propensity was cherished under the Mogul emperors, of whose pleasures Cachemire was the favourite seat, and who treated it with every kind of favour and indulgence. A sad reverse had been experienced under the Afghan sway; their new sovereign having nearly sextupled the tribute, which is raised by him from three and a half to twenty lacks of rupees.

Our traveller admits only a moderate portion of that beauty for which the Cashmirian ladies have been so much celebrated. He says, in the south of Europe they would be called brunettes, and their complexions are therefore in India considered uncommonly fair, but their figures are generally coarse, and their features broad; and he inclines, on the whole, to prefer the beauties whom he saw in some of the western provinces of India.

During our author's stay at Cachemire, a Georgian merchant, with whom he formed an ac-

quaintance, communicated to him as his own firm belief, that, instead of being a Turk as pretended, he was really a Christian. The grounds were, that his head was broad behind and flat at the crown, whereas the Mahometan head was conical, like that of a monkey. Whatever might be thought of the data on which the Georgian had reasoned, the result was calculated to inspire the deepest alarm. After serious consideration, Mr Forster judged it wisest to confide to him the whole secret, threatening him, if he betrayed it, with the confiscation of his whole property at Benares. The Georgian however professed nothing but the most friendly intention, which indeed the whole of his subsequent conduct confirmed. Forster incurred a much more serious peril in his Turkish capacity, which coming to the ears of Azad Khan, the viceroy, that chief declared the Turks to be brave soldiers, and that being in extreme want of such for his army, he would inlist him without hesitation. In this crisis, his only hope was in the Georgian, by whose aid, with a little bribing and forging, he contrived to escape without the knowledge of the viceroy. The western passes of Cachemire were very steep and difficult, the paths being sometimes formed of planks fastened into the sides of the perpendicular rock. He was also exposed to the depredations of banditti, one of whom whipped away

his red cloak, containing also his passport, which he had much difficulty in getting renewed. The caravan, about twenty miles above Attock, crossed the Indus, which they found three quarters of a mile broad, very rapid, and its waters discoloured by the black sand over which it flowed. They were also very cold, owing, it was supposed, to their being composed of melted snow. Being seventy in number, they overloaded very much their small bark, and rendered the passage both tedious and dangerous. They then proceeded to Peshour (Peshawer), a city founded by Akbar, and now the seat of an extensive commerce. It was more fully observed by Mr Elphinstone at a subsequent period, when it had become the seat of government. They then proceeded to Caubul, but on the road were assaulted by a band of that race of Afghans called Hybers (Khyberees of Elphinstone). The robbers were very few in number, and the caravan very numerous; notwithstanding which, the latter, struck with mortal dread, took to flight, and dispersed in every direction. Mr Forster had contrived a plan for securing his money, but he was stripped and plundered of every thing about his person, and would have been carried into slavery, had he not been ransomed by a charitable Hindoo.

After this adventure our traveller reached Caubul, which he found a large and populous city,

surrounded with a wall about a mile and a half in circumference, but not adorned with any buildings of importance, except four bazaars built by Ali Merdan Khan. At this place he joined a caravan going by way of Ghizni and Candahar into Persia. His Georgian companion now prevailed upon him to lay aside his character of Mahometan, which, as he alleged, exposed him to greater danger than would be incurred by avowing himself a Christian, and was moreover a sin. Our author found bitter cause to repent this transformation. Never, he says, did the primitive martyrs pass through a more cruel series of scorn and obloquy than he was exposed to by his Christian profession during the course of his subsequent journey. The crown of martyrdom was alone withheld; but he was kept in daily expectation of receiving it, without any of those triumphant feelings which soothed the early sufferers in the cause of truth. He performed his journey to Ghizni in a panier hanging down one side of a camel, into which, being only two and a half feet long and one and a half broad, considerable skill and vigour was required to effect his insertion. A voice of combined scolding and crying which immediately saluted his ears, proved the opposite panier to be occupied by an old woman and an infant. In this guise he reached Ghizni, the view of which struck him with the

deepest emotion. This once proud capital of the conquerors of the East, presented now a picture of complete desolation. A few heaps of mishapen ruins alone attested the ancient glories of the fallen Ghizni. A slight traffic with the neighbouring mountains alone kept together a few inhabitants, and prevented its total annihilation.

From Caubul the caravan proceeded to Candahar, a fine city, situated in a fertile and highly cultivated plain. Provisions were found cheaper and better than in any other city west of the Indus. The immediate departure of a caravan obliged him to proceed without delay to Herat, which he found considerable as to trade and population, though inferior in both to Candahar. It was entirely a Persian town, and inhabited by the most rigid Mahometans. The rest of his journey, through which our present plan does not lead us to follow him, was performed through the northern provinces of Persia, till at Meschedizar, on the southern coast of the Caspian, he obtained admission on board of a Russian vessel, which conveyed him to Baku.

The countries of Caubul and Candahar, which formed once a prominent and central part of the Mogul empire, were, in the course of its decline, entirely separated from it. They form now an independent and powerful state, comprehending Cachemire, the Punjaub, and other territories

which formerly belonged to Hindostan. This kingdom, from its extent and population, and the hardy character of its people, when united and free from internal dissension, forms one of the most powerful in Asia, and has acted a leading part in the revolutions both of Persia and India. When the French were supposed to meditate the invasion of our Indian possessions, the attention of the British administration was peculiarly turned to Caubul, which occupied the route by which alone they could enter. It was therefore determined to send a mission to the king, in the view of conciliating his friendly co-operation in such an event. Mr Elphinstone was placed at its head.

The mission set out from Delhi on the 13th October 1808. The country was well cultivated till they arrived at Canound. Here they entered upon the Great Western Desert, which extends to the Indus. It consisted of hills of loose sand blown together by the wind, of from twenty to a hundred feet in height. They bore, however, some coarse grass and bushes; and among them were occasionally descried a few straw huts, surrounded by a dry thorn hedge. The fields around bore some of the coarsest grains and pulse, each stalk several feet distant from the other. It was impossible to travel, unless over a narrow track, rendered hard by beating; everywhere else the horses sunk in sand above the

knee. They were every-where refreshed, however, by the juice of immense water melons, growing by a slender stalk out of the sand of the desert. The people were little, black, and ugly, with every appearance of wretchedness; while the chiefs were stout and handsome, with Jewish features. They amused their solitude by using opium to the utmost excess; so that they were almost always in a state either of intoxication, or of exhaustion consequent upon it; and were fit for business only while this state of inebriety was in progress, without being complete.

After travelling through this track for about a hundred and fifty miles, the mission descried the walls and towers of Bikaneer, which rose a magnificent city in the midst of the wilderness. Its temples, spires, and other edifices, composed of a pure white limestone, gave it a splendid appearance; and at a distance it seemed to exhibit a magnitude almost equal to Delhi, though this proved quite a delusive impression. The Raja of Bikaneer, ruler over a vast extent of these sandy wastes, appears to be the most powerful of the princes known by the name of Rajeputs. He was now engaged in war with two of his neighbours, whose armies, one of them 15,000 strong, had invaded his territory, and were within a few miles of the capital. His chief confidence was in the desolation of the country, which, for ten miles round,

was as dreary as the deserts of Arabia. The mission were strongly solicited by both parties for co-operation, but observed a strict neutrality, and sought only to equip themselves for the rest of their journey. In eleven days they were ready, and went to pay their parting visit to the Raja. They found him in considerable state, his dress adorned with numerous jewels. He told them that he was a subject of the throne of Delhi, consequently of the English, who were now masters of that city; in which view he tendered to them the keys of the fort; but Mr Elphinstone positively refused to accept of this mock submission.

From Bikaneer, in two days, they came to Poogul, where Mr Elphinstone strongly describes the dreary aspect produced by "the foreground "of high sand-hills, the village of straw huts, the "clay walls of the little fort going to ruins, and "the sea of sand, without a sign of vegetation, "which formed the rest of the prospect." From Poogul to the Hyphasis, for the space of a hundred miles, was a desert, in comparison of which the former almost lost its character. It was a surface of hard clay, sounding under the horses' feet like a board. The only semblance of vegetation was on some sand-hills, which had been blown upon it from a distance. The single inhabited spot was the fort of Moujgur, belonging to the king

of Caubul, which, though small, was distinguished by a mosque and cupola, ornamented with painted tiles. Early in this route they met Bahawul Khan, an officer of the king of Caubul, who, besides a large supply of water in skins, brought four brass jars filled with that of the Hyphasis, which proved highly refreshing. He shewed them every kind of courtesy and hospitality; and instead of that avidity for presents, which they expected to find beyond all power of satisfying, would scarcely accept of the most moderate donations.

On the 26th November they arrived at Bahawulpore, near the Hyphasis, where they found a quite different people from those on the eastern side of the desert. They were strong, dark, and harsh featured, wore long beards, caps instead of turbans, and spoke a language unintelligible to the Hindoos. The desert and cultivated country were here separated, as if by a line, the sand being bordered by a row of trees, which, though only of low tamarisk, delighted their eyes, long unaccustomed to such verdure.

Bahawulpore is a large town about four miles in circumference, distinguished by the manufacture of silken girdles and turbans. The surrounding territory, formed by the slime of the river, is very rich, but so soft that it will scarcely bear the tread of a horse. Having passed the Hyphasis, they

arrived on the 11th December at Moultan, which they found a large and handsome city, about four miles and a half in circumference. It is famous for its silks, and for a sort of carpets similar, but inferior, to those of Persia. The surrounding country is agreeable, as well as fertile and well cultivated, though there are many villages in ruins, and other signs of decay. On the 21st December they crossed the Acesines, formed by the union of the Hydaspes and Hydraotes. They soon came to the Little Desert, which extends for two hundred and fifty miles from north to south between the Hydaspes and the Indus. Its breadth, however, was so moderate as to be crossed in two marches. Generally speaking, the fertility of the country upon this range of great rivers is confined to the tract which they inundate. At length, with deep emotion, they found themselves on the banks of the Indus, a river whose classic fame was answered by the majestic appearance of its broad stream, and the back-ground of snowy mountains, which rose in successive ranges behind it. They rode seventy-five miles along its banks, consisting of a fertile plain, closely bordering, however, on the desert. They saw a husbandry almost European; neat farm-yards, hand-barrows, dunghills, and oxen fed on turnips. The opposite shore, they were told, was inhabited by fierce and predatory tribes,

the Beloches and Sheeraunees. They now found themselves beyond the region in which European geography could be of any avail. All the names which they heard were new and strange to them; and those read out of their maps were equally new and strange to the natives. They crossed the Indus at the ferry of Kaheree, and proceeded along its western bank. At whatever place they stopped crowds of the natives flocked round them, in the utmost amazement and perplexity, who or what they could be. Various were the nations to which they were supposed to belong. They were even asserted to possess the power of raising the dead; and it was confidently reported, that at Moultan they had formed and animated a wooden ram, and sold it as genuine, when the purchaser discovered the deception only after he began to eat it. One man, who had been in Hindostan, came up and asked them if they were not content with Cawnpore, Lucknow, and so many fine places which they had there, that they must come and take away his country. Upon the whole, however, the natives were harmless, and even friendly. In passing even through the territory of the Esaakhail, a tribe of avowed robbers, the English had indeed some camels taken from them, but were treated otherwise with the utmost courtesy. The most remarkable place which they passed was Kallabaugh, or Karrabaugh, situated at the

point where they quitted the banks of the Indus. It was built on the side of a mountain of salt, the houses rising by stages above each other, so that it appeared impossible to reach one, unless by the terraced roof of the other. The road was cut out of the solid salt, the cliffs of which rose above, pure and clear as crystal, unless in some places where they were streaked with red. The ground in the neighbourhood was blood red, so that every object of nature appeared under a strange aspect; and the Indus, rolling rapidly its vast stream between immense rocks, heightened the striking character of the scene.

From Kallabaugh the mission left the Indus, and began to ascend the mountains. They proceeded through a narrow valley between walls of rock, and, after a long ascent, reached the summit of a lofty pass. They saw around them a vast extent of country, and a wild confusion of hills and valleys, but could form no distinct idea of any one object. The Indus, at this distance, appeared only a little brook. On this mountainous road they encountered a tempest of rain, and were so involved in clouds and mist that the path could scarcely be traced. Some of the party even lost their way, and were some time before they could rejoin the rest. After travelling a little farther, they came in view of a vast range of snowy mountains, which, seen nearly in their full dimensions,

presented a spectacle of unequalled magnificence. These, they were told, belonged to the vast range of Hindoo Coosh, or Koh, a continuation of the Himmaleh, and separating Caubul from the regions of Independent Tartary. They were now in the country of the Kheyberees, a people of notorious and avowed robbers, whom yet Mr Elphinstone was surprised to see come up and ask Moosa Khan, the escorting officer, for presents. On being refused, they departed with visible dissatisfaction, but without any violence. The party soon afterwards entered the plain of Peshawer; and in about a day's journey reached that city, which they entered amid an immense crowd of spectators.

Peshawer is situated in a plain about thirty-five miles in diameter, surrounded on almost every side by the most immense mountains. Some of these have always snow on their summits, while the plain is clothed in a richness of verdure never seen in the perpetual summer of India. The orchards are numerous, and loaded with a profusion of fruit; the fields are finely irrigated and cultivated; and the whole landscape bears a great resemblance to the finest part of England. It is so populous, that the bearings of thirty-two villages were taken, within a circuit of four miles. The town itself is upwards of five miles in circumference, and contains about 100,000 inhabi-

tants. Its streets presented a various mixture of the inhabitants of India, Persia, and the neighbouring mountains; "Persians and Afghans, in brown "woollen tunics, or flowing mantles, and caps of "black sheep-skin or coloured silk; Kheyberees, "with the straw sandals, and the wild dress and "air of their mountains; Hindoos, uniting the "peculiar features and manners of their own na-"tion, to the long beard and the dress of the "country; and Hazaurehs, not more remarkable "for their conical caps of skin, with the wool ap-"pearing like a fringe round the edge, and for "their broad faces and little eyes, than for that "want of the beard, which is the ornament of "every other face in the city. Among these "might be discovered a few women, with long "veils that reached their feet. Sometimes, when "the king was going out, the streets were choked "with horse and foot, and dromedaries bearing "swivels, and large waving red and green flags; "and, at all times, loaded dromedaries, or heavy "Bactrian camels, made their way slowly through "the streets."

A week was spent in discussing the ceremonies to be observed on their introduction at court. In these debates, the officers shewed extreme ignorance of every thing relating to Britain; and one of them even allowed his belief to appear that Calcutta was in England. The Chaous Baushee,

on whom devolved the task of introduction, laboured hard at the list of names, but found them so rude and uncouth, that he was obliged to give them up in despair. At length, the 5th of March was fixed for the ceremony. They were led into an extensive court enclosed with high walls, with a lofty building at one end, in the central arch of which sat the king, seated on a very large throne of gold. He appeared all one blaze of jewels, and of which his suit of armour appeared at first to be entirely composed. His real dress, however, proved to consist of a green tunic, on which the gold and jewels were disposed in the form of flowers, with a bracelet and breast-plate of diamonds. One of them was the Cohi Noor, known to be one of the largest in the world. The crown was about nine inches high, not like European crowns, ornamented, but entirely composed of precious stones. On discovering the king, all the members of the mission took off their hats, made a low bow, and held up their hands to heaven, as if praying for his welfare. Hereupon the Chaous Baushee recited their names, adding, "They have come from Europe as ambassadors "to your majesty." The king, in a loud voice, replied, "They are welcome." He was about thirty years of age, handsome, with an olive complexion, and a thick black beard. His expression and whole demeanour were pleasing and dig-

nified. As soon as the introduction was over, the Khauns filed off in order, and the king rose majestically, and withdrew. Immediately after, however, they were introduced into a hall, where the sovereign was seated on a low throne, and the members of the embassy were ranged opposite to him. They all soon retired, except Mr Elphinstone and the secretary Mr Strachey. The governor-general's Persian letter was then read in a very distinct and elegant manner by the Mounshee Baushee; and the king, after some complimentary discourse, expressed his readiness to enter upon business. The ambassador explained at length the objects of the mission, to which the king made a friendly and judicious reply, and the interview terminated.

The mission remained at Peshawer from the end of February to the middle of June. Intelligence then arrived of the total defeat and dispersion of the army which was employed to act against a rebellion which had arisen in Cachemire. At the same time Mahmood, a pretender to the crown, had taken Candahar, and was marching upon Caubul. In so distracted a crisis, the English could no longer remain with safety at the capital. It was therefore arranged, that they should repair to Hussun Abdaul, on the eastern frontier, and there await the fate of the kingdom of Caubul. At Hussun Abdaul, however, they

received their recal, and they also learned that the king had been defeated by the rebels. He afterwards regained Peshawer; but his life continued from that time to be chequered by a constant series of vicissitudes.

During their journey to Peshawer, and residence there, the mission employed themselves with very laudable diligence, in inquiring into the varied aspects and forms of society in this interesting and almost unknown country. Of these we shall now introduce such a general view as our limits will admit.

The most remarkable among the natural features of Caubul, is that portion of the mountain chain of Asia which passes along its northern frontier. From a particular peak it receives, for about 1400 miles, the name of Hindoo Coosh or Koh. It is of stupendous height, and its most elevated summits clad in perpetual snow; yet they seem not quite to equal those which give birth to the Ganges, and tower above the valley of Nepaul. "The stupendous height of "these mountains, the magnificence and variety "of their lofty summits, the various nations by "whom they are seen, and who seem to be "brought together by this common object, and "the awful and undisturbed solitude which reigns "amid their eternal snows, fill the mind with ad-

"miration and astonishment, that no language "can express."

The ridge of Solimaun, the next in magnitude, is separated from Hindoo Coosh only by a narrow valley, through which the river Caubul flows. It has here a very high peak called Suffaid Koh, covered with perpetual snow; but in proceeding southwards, it sinks gradually into the plains of Sinde and Seistan. These two ranges, with branches striking off from them, traverse nearly all Afghanistan. One of the most remarkable features is the salt range, which stretches eastward from Suffaid Koh, and crosses the Indus. A part of it, as we have seen, was observed by the embassy in passing through Callabaugh.

The Indus is decidedly the principal river of Afghanistan, and forms its natural western boundary. It does not receive on this side such mighty tributaries as those which traverse the plain of the Punjaub. The largest is the Kama, which, descending from a peak of the Belour, the same which, on the opposite side, gives rise to the Oxus, penetrates the barrier of Hindoo Coosh, and, being joined by the Caubul and several smaller rivers, falls at length into the Indus. The Helmund waters the western part of Afghanistan, and falls, beyond its frontier, into the lake of Durra or Zareng.

The climate of Afghanistan exhibits the most striking varieties, in consequence of the abruptness with which the mountain ranges often rise from the deep plains beneath. A few hours' journey carries the traveller from a place where snow never falls, to another where it never melts. In the plain of Jellalabad, immediately beneath Suffaid Koh, persons are often killed by the intensity of the hot wind, while regions of eternal ice are towering above. At Caubul, the winter, if not more severe, is more steady than in England. The inhabitants wear woollen cloths and great coats of tanned sheep-skin; they often sleep round stoves, and avoid, as much as possible, leaving the house till the vernal equinox brings milder weather. Ghizni, from its high situation, suffers more from cold than any of the other cities; and snow there often lies deep after the vernal equinox. In Damaun, on the contrary, a province lying along the Indus, the heat is such that the inhabitants are obliged to wet their clothes before going to sleep, and to keep, during the whole night, a vessel with water standing by the bedside. The heat is still more intense in the plain of Seweestaun, on the south-western frontier; whence the Afghans are accustomed to make the odd exclamation, "O Lord, when thou "hadst Sewee, why needest thou to have made "Hell!"

The prevailing winds in Afghanistan are from the west and south-west. The latter begins in the middle of summer, and blows for about a hundred and twenty days without intermission. This wind, throughout all this country, is cool, while the east wind is hot. The chief rain is in winter. When this falls in the form of snow and melts at the return of heat, it is of great importance to agriculture; but in the form of rain, its effect is lost, and the main dependance of the husbandman is then upon another rain, much smaller in quantity, which falls in spring. The monsoon that produces the great rains of India, is scarcely felt in Afghanistan; and the latter may be considered in general as a dry country.

The soil is nearly as various as the climate. In well watered plains of moderate elevation, as Peshawer and Candahar, it is exceedingly fertile, and produces two full crops in the year. Wheat and barley, the grains of Europe, are cultivated in preference to rice and Indian corn. In the higher districts, only one crop can be raised in the year; and in some, the grain must be sown at the end of one autumn, that it may ripen before another. The loftier part of the mountain chains is of course condemned to perpetual ruggedness and sterility. On the other hand, in the level districts to the south, bordering upon Seestaun and Beloochistaun, extensive deserts are produced by the absence of water. The empire

of desolation seems, on this side, to be continually spreading; the moving sand being blown by the south-west wind over the bordering fertile tracts, which it gradually covers, and converts into desert.

The account of the animals of Afghanistan is very imperfect. Lions are rare; tigers and leopards are more common; wolves, hyenas, foxes, and hares, every-where abound. The agricultural labour is performed by oxen; but a species of broad-tailed sheep form the riches of the pastoral tribes. Horses occur in considerable numbers, but not of the same excellent quality as those bred in the extensive plains north of Hindoo Coosh.

The political constitution of Caubul is by no means of that simple structure which is usual in Asiatic monarchies. The royal power has been compared to that which was exercised by the Scottish monarchs during the feudal ages. Over the great towns, the country in their immediate vicinity, and the foreign dependencies, their authority is direct, and almost supreme. The rest of the nation is divided into clans or communities, who act nearly independently of the sovereign, and from whom a contingent of troops and money is with difficulty levied. These communities are called Oolooss. They are governed by a Khaun, who is usually appointed by the King,

but always out of the oldest family of the Oolooss. The Khaun, within his own community, is quite a limited monarch; he can undertake nothing of importance without the consent of the Jeerga, or representative assembly of the people. The judicial power, so far as exercised, is also vested in the Jeerga. The principle of private revenge, however, is deeply rooted in the mind of the nation, and an appeal to the Jeerga carries with it some degree of reproach; being supposed to indicate, in the individual who has recourse to such a remedy, a want either of power or courage to vindicate his own wrongs. Even the Jeerga recognizes the right of retaliation, by making a formal offer to the offended party of delivering the criminal into his hands, that he may inflict his own punishment, though it is understood that he shall decline and leave the point to the determination of the Jeerga. Alliances are formed, and wars carried on by the Oolooss between themselves, without any concern or interference of the sovereign. This form of government keeps every part of the country in a state of tumult and ferment, and presents at first sight a very unfavourable contrast to that undisturbed tranquillity which, under an absolute government, reigns over the greater part of the plains of India. Mr Elphinstone, however, through this outward aspect of rudeness and turbulence, saw enough to con-

vince him of the radical superiority even of this rude freedom. The powers of action, and, as it were, of vitality, lodged in each of these independent communities, enabled it to flourish, unaffected by the personal character of the sovereign, or even by the convulsions which subverted his throne. The succession of revolutions to which the kingdom has been exposed during the last half century, have produced effects visibly injurious on the great cities, and the districts situated along the high-roads. But the more remote and independent parts of the country have proceeded in an uninterrupted career of improvement; cultivation has been extended, new aqueducts built, and various public establishments undertaken.

Though the external appearance of the Afghans be more uncouth than that of the Indians, they possess estimable qualities to which he is a stranger. A certain measure of reliance can be placed upon their statements of fact; not that they can compare with Europeans in veracity, or will scruple dissimulation, when any great interest is to be promoted; but they are far from that profound and habitual falsehood, which characterizes the natives of Persia and Hindostan. They manifest also an active spirit of curiosity, to which the subjects of despotism are altogether strangers. Displays of European art and machinery, which

by Indians were noticed evidently from mere politeness, without any real interest, excited in the Afghans the highest gratification, and an anxious wish to examine the processes by which they were performed. There exists also more purity of manners than is observed in other Asiatic countries. Polygamy, indeed, and the purchase of wives, prevails here, as over all the East. They are well treated, however, and often acquire an ascendency in family, from which the severity of Mahometan institutions seems elsewhere to exclude them. In the country districts, where the system of seclusion cannot be carried to such a rigorous extent as in towns, the passion of love seems often to be felt in all its ardour. Many of their popular poems relate to amorous adventures, and detail incidents not dissimilar to those which form the subject of similar compositions in Europe. It is said to be not uncommon for a young man to set out for India, or some other foreign country, with a view of earning the purchase-money of the female of whom he has become enamoured. This price being usually considerable, the procuring of an Afghan wife is attended with difficulty, and men arrive often at the age of forty, before they are able to collect a sum sufficient. This has led to a very peculiar mode of penal infliction. The fine imposed, on conviction of any crime, is levied in young women, to

be given as wives to the injured person or his friends. Murder is twelve young women; severe mutilation, six; and so on, diminishing for smaller offences.

Hospitality is a virtue for which the nation is eminently distinguished. Not only a stranger, but the bitterest enemy, beneath the roof of an Afghan, is in perfect security. Usage has even established, that any individual who enters his house, and places himself in the posture of a supplicant, shall receive the boon which he thus craves. Yet, with this even romantic courtesy and humanity, are combined almost universally the habits of plunder and robbery. The extent of these practices varies among different tribes, and in those placed under the immediate eye of the sovereign they are much restrained; but scarcely any tribes are wholly exempted. Instances have occurred in which an Afghan has received a stranger with all the rights of hospitality, and afterwards, meeting him in the open country, has robbed him. The same person, it is supposed, who would plunder a cloak from a traveller who had one, would give a cloak to one who had none. From these circumstances it is conceived, that no European, carrying property along with him, could, with any degree of safety, travel through Afghanistan. Nothing except

absolute poverty could afford him any chance of security.

Education, to a certain extent, is very general among the Afghans. Moollahs, performing the office of schoolmasters, are established not only in towns, but even in every village. Unfortunately, the grand object is to enable their pupils to read the Koran in Arabic, often without understanding it; and not a fourth part of the lower orders can read their own language. The more advanced studies are the Persian classics, Arabic, grammar, logic, law, and theology. The two great seminaries of learning are Peshawer and Bukhara, the former of which has somewhat the pre-eminence. Although the superiority of the Persians in literature is acknowledged, yet their reputation of heresy deters all faithful *Soonnees* from repairing to their colleges. The Afghan princes, in general, have been eminent encouragers of learning. Ahmed Shah held weekly assemblies at his palace, often prolonged to a late hour, and in which various topics of theology, law, and literature, were discussed. He and most of his successors have practised poetical composition, though their fame does not rest upon that basis. The most celebrated of the Afghan poets is Rehmaun; in whose pieces, however, so far as they were explained to Mr Elphinstone, he was not able to discover any merit; but he is willing

to believe that this may have arisen from the defective nature of the few specimens which he obtained. More true poetical fire glows in the verses of Khooshhaul, a khaun or chieftain, whose valour maintained the independence of his tribe against the power of Aurengzebe. His odes seem well calculated to inspire his followers with the love of independence, and with a passion for war and glory. The poetical taste of the nation is also indicated by the reading of poetry being established as a regular profession, which is followed in the towns by a considerable number of individuals.

The useful arts have made considerable progress. Agriculture is followed with assiduity. The grand process upon which its success depends is that of irrigation, which is practised to a great extent throughout all the kingdom. It is usually effected by small canals, into which the water is turned by dams, and sometimes by partial embankments. A much more laborious contrivance, called a *cauraiz*, is frequently employed. A chain of wells are sunk on a sloping field, and are connected by a subterraneous channel, so constructed, that the water of all the wells is poured into the lowest one, and thence into a water-course, from which it is conducted over the field. This laborious structure forms sometimes the mode in which a rich man employs his money;

sometimes it is performed by an association formed among the poor. The ground is always watered before being ploughed. The ploughing is performed with two oxen, and is deeper than in India; the grain is sown always in broadcast, and a substitute for the harrow is formed by a plank, above which a man stands, to increase the pressure. The crop, in the course of its growth, is watered at least once, usually oftener. The sickle is the only instrument employed in reaping, and the grain is threshed by the treading of oxen. Two kinds of artificial grass are raised. Wheat forms the staple food of the inhabitants, and barley is chiefly used for horses. The cheapness of provisions, particularly of fruits and vegetables, is almost incredible. Grapes are considered dear when they exceed a farthing a-pound, and the coarser species are sometimes given to cattle; the best apricots are less than a halfpenny a-pound, and melons much cheaper. The smallest piece of copper money purchases ten pounds of spinnage, twenty-five of cabbage, &c. The land is divided into very minute portions, and the proprietor and cultivator are usually the same person.

Afghanistan, from its situation, can only have an inland commerce. This is conducted by caravans, and the merchants usually employ camels for the conveyance of their goods; though when

they have to cross any part of the chain of Hindoo Coosh, horses and poneys must be used. Considerable obstacles are encountered from the roughness of the roads, the difficulty of finding water and provisions, and the attacks of the predatory tribes. In traversing the territories of the latter, strict order is observed, and the march is covered by parties of horse stationed at proper distances. During the night, a large proportion of the caravan remain on watch. In towns they lodge in the caravansaries, which consist of large squares, along each side of which the apartments are ranged, with a mosque in the centre. Each merchant usually hires, at a very easy rate, two rooms for himself and his goods. Afghanistan, from its want of manufactures, yields few commodities which can bear the expense of so laborous a transport. The principal are, fruits of all kinds, furs, madder and assafœtida. The produce of its subject provinces, the shawls of Cachemire and the chintzes of Moultan, form more convenient articles of exchange. The trade of this country, however, is chiefly supported by its being the channel through which India maintains its communication with Persia and Toorkistaun. All the Indian manufactures are thus conveyed into those regions, while European goods are brought by the Russians, by way of Orenburg, to Bokhara, and thence to Caubul. The English mission, after

having, with great difficulty, conveyed some large mirrors across the desert, hoping thus to inspire the king with a high idea of British manufacture, were much astonished and mortified, in the first private house which they visited, to see two mirrors of greater dimensions, which they understood had been brought by the above channel. From Toorkistaun itself are imported vast numbers of horses, for the supply of all the great men and armies of India. These, in consequence of the immediate channel by which they arrive, are there erroneously called Caubul horses.

Such are the general features of the kingdom of Caubul; but every district has its separate tribe, divided and subdivided into others, and every one having something peculiar to itself. Our limits will only allow us to notice some of the most prominent of these distinctions. The western Afghans are divided chiefly into the Ghiljies and Dooraunees. The Ghiljies are the most warlike of all the Afghan tribes. Ghizni, situated in the heart of their territory, was the residence of the great Mahmood, and the Ghiljies formed the strength of those armies with which he spread desolation over Asia. The conquest of Persia, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was also effected by the Ghiljies, and they continued the ruling tribe till the invasion by Nadir Shah. The restoration of the Afghan

monarchy being effected by Ahmed Shah, the chief of the Dooraunees, the Ghiljies have never regained their former ascendency. Their constitution is extremely democratic, the administration, in some districts, verging almost on total anarchy. This spirit, which was always prevalent, has gained much additional strength since the sovereign ceased to belong to their tribe, and to add to his constitutional prerogative the more revered character of hereditary chief of the Ghiljies. This distinction now belongs to the Dooraunees, who, since the elevation of Ahmed Shah, have had the king of Caubul for the head of their tribe. The great Dooraunee Sirdars unite the influence derived from office and military command, to that which they enjoy in right of their birth. Accordingly, though the democratic principle is by no means crushed, the power both of the king and chiefs is greater here than in any other part of the kingdom. The character and deportment of the Dooraunees are the subject of much panegyric. They are brave, honourable, hospitable, ardently attached to their tribe, and, at the same time, more liberal and humane than the rest of their countrymen. This pre-eminence is admitted by the Ghiljies, even while they avow themselves their bitterest enemies. One of them being asked by Mr Elphinstone, what sort of people the Dooraunees were, answered, " Good people;

"they dress well, they are hospitable, they are "not treacherous." Being then asked how his countrymen treated such as fell into their hands, he replied, "We never let one escape; and now, "if I had an opportunity, I would not give one "time to drink water. Are we not enemies?" He added, "Our hearts burn because we have "lost the kingdom, and we wish to see the Door-"aunees as poor as ourselves."

The heights of Solimaun are occupied by the Kheyberees, Vizerees, and Sheraunees, tribes still more barbarous than the names which they bear. They are all robbers, and some of them little better than savages, living in caves cut out from the rock. The Eusofzies inhabit the north-eastern extremity of Afghanistan, and occupy a fertile valley on the right bank of the Indus, watered by the river of Suaut. They came into this region as conquerors, and have reduced all the original inhabitants to a state of slavery. The slaves being more numerous than the masters, perform all the laborious offices, and leave the latter in a state of almost total indolence. Although democracy be very prevalent throughout Afghanistan, it nowhere rises to such a height as among the Eusofzies, who indeed can scarcely be said to have any government whatever. The small number of the freemen, and a species of connexion resembling that of a religious sect, which binds

them to each other, are sufficient to prevent any violent disorder. Proud of this freedom, the Eusofzies regard themselves as the noblest of the Afghan tribes, and look down with contempt even on the Dooraunees.

ANOTHER important and much wanted addition to our knowledge of the countries to the west of India, was afforded by the journey of Lieutenant POTTINGER and Captain CHRISTIE through Beloochistan and Sinde. This was ground almost quite untrodden, which, ever since the rash and perilous return of Alexander, the dreary and terrible aspect of nature had deterred all Europeans from attempting to traverse. It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive a more daring enterprise than that of a journey of 1500 miles, through the most frightful mountains and deserts, peopled by a race who, besides being robbers by profession, were led by Mahometan bigotry to consider the slaughter of a Christian as an action highly meritorious. Undeterred by these considerations, they set out, assuming the character of agents for an eminent horse-dealer in Bombay.

The two travellers landed at the port of Sonmeany, which they found exactly to correspond with the description given by Arrian. Here they shaved their heads, and put on, in every respect, the costume of the country. They were warned

of the dangers to be encountered among the Bezunjas, a tribe pre-eminent as robbers even among the Beloches; "who care not for the "king, khan, God, or the prophet, but murder "and plunder every person or thing they can lay "their hands on." The English were not intimidated by this report, but proceeded through a country, flat, uncultivated, and in many parts marshy, to Bayla, the principal town in this district. They found it a town of two thousand houses, with narrow streets, but a neat and clean bazaar, the trade being chiefly carried on by three hundred Hindoo families. The Jam, or chief, was engaged, at their arrival, in a great horse race; but, on his return, they were immediately admitted to an audience. This prince displayed little state; his attire contained neither jewels nor ornaments; and the hall of audience was beneath a flat mud roof, supported by crooked sticks, rough as they had been cut from the jungle. He received them civilly, and began inquiries into European matters, particularly the naval victories of the English. On being told of ships that carried a hundred guns and a thousand men, he expressed strong doubt; and when he heard of the number of such vessels engaged in a great naval battle, replied; "As you say it has been so, I "am bound to believe it; but had the holy pro-"phet foretold it, the people would have de-

" manded proof." He warned them by no means to attempt proceeding without having secured the good will of Ruhmut Khan, chief of the Bezunjas, who was accordingly sent for. Tired of waiting, our adventurers had the courage, or rather the fool-hardiness, to set out; but they were not long of meeting the chief, who swore by his beard, that if they attempted to advance, he would annihilate them; " that a hare could " not pass through Ruhmut Khan's country, if " he chose to prevent it." The travellers hereupon deemed it highly expedient to turn back; and through the mediation of the Jam, upon consideration of paying fifty rupees, they obtained his word for their safety, when he added, " You " need not now fear any thing mortal; farther " it rests with the Almighty and his prophet." They set out, therefore, in full security, with an escort of robbers. The first night was spent in the dry bed of the river Pooralee; when some Sookrees, or musicians, began singing to the Bezunjas the exploits of their favourite chiefs; whereupon the rude auditors, struck with poetic and warlike frenzy, snatched the instruments from the performers, and passed them from hand to hand, till at length the whole joined in a concert of such tumultuous din, as almost stunned the English. Proceeding on their journey, they now passed through a wild and rugged country, pre-

senting every-where varied and often sublime scenery. They ascended into a very lofty region, and began to experience an intense degree of cold; the water froze in their leathern bags, and the surrounding mountains were covered with snow. Here they found Kelat, the capital of Beloochistan, a town containing about four thousand houses, partly within and partly without the walls. The streets were broader than usual in eastern cities; but the upper stories, projecting so as almost to meet, made the lower part gloomy and damp. The cold was, at this season, most intense, so that water poured out became ice before it reached the ground; the khan, with his chiefs, avoided its severity, by going down to Kutch Gundava. Beyond Kelat, the road became very rugged, till, on reaching a pinnacle, they saw to the west the appearance of an ocean, extending farther than the eye could reach; it was the great desert of sand, to which the reflection of the sun gave a watery semblance. A rapid descent brought them to the village of Nooshky, where they separated, Captain Christie taking the road northerly to Herat, while Lieutenant Pottinger proceeded westwards to Kerman.

As Mr Pottinger was now to leave the habitable part of Beloochistan, it may be the time to introduce some of his general observations upon

that country. It is covered with numerous and rugged chains of mountains, some of which must be very lofty, since Kelat, the capital, was judged to be eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. These mountains do not bestow on the country their usual gift of fertilizing moisture. The plains which separate them consist of sand, destitute of all vegetation; and, in a journey of fifteen hundred miles to Schiraz, Mr Pottinger never met a stream which would take a horse above the knee. The beds of mountain torrents were usually dry; and served as convenient halting places, or even as roads; but they are subject to the danger experienced by Alexander, of the water rushing down so suddenly and rapidly, as to render escape difficult. Many also were filled with the jungle noticed by Arrian. Our traveller could confirm, to his cost, that author's notice of the abundance of asafœtida, which is considered by the natives as the most exquisite dainty, so that not only their persons, but the very air, was scented with it.

The Beloches are honourable robbers; plunder, in a small scale, is held by them in the utmost contempt. Their *cheepao* nearly corresponds with the Highland *foray*. They set out on camels, each man having the charge of ten or twelve, and ride eighty or ninety miles a-day, till they approach the destined scene of operations,

when they recruit their equipage in some unfrequented jungle. They then rush out at midnight upon the devoted village, set it on fire, kill or carry off men, women, children, and flocks. The captives are blindfolded and tied upon camels, that they may never know the road back to their native spot. At home, the amusements of the Beloches consist in firing at marks, cudgelling, wrestling, practising with swords, and throwing the spear, in all which they possess marvellous skill. The Beloche soldier, when fully equipped, is all bristling with armour; matchlock, sword, spear, dagger, shield, powder-flasks, pouches, balls, slugs, flints, and all the deadly apparatus of war. When unemployed, they spend their time in lounging, gambling, smoking, or chewing opium; but drunkenness is unknown. The usual hospitality of rude nations is very conspicuous. In every village there is the Mehman Khana, or house of guests, which, as soon as the traveller enters, he finds himself not only safe, but the object of general respect and attention.

The Beloches are not the sole tenants of this region; it is also occupied by the Brahooes, who seem even to have been the prior occupants. They are a peaceable, mild, honest, and industrious race, subsisting chiefly on their flocks. Their little kheils or villages, sheltered in the bosom of stupendous mountains, presented the most beau-

tiful image of pastoral repose. All their demeanour was marked by simplicity, kindness, and hospitality; the females were not immured, as in India, but conversed with a gay and innocent freedom; all the members of the family, even the children newly able to walk, took some share in its rural occupations.

At five days' march beyond Nooshky, Mr Pottinger emptied the last well, 150 feet deep, and then entered upon the great desert. Its surface was different and more formidable than even those vast oceans of sand which cover so great a part of Arabia and Africa. The sands being so light and minute as, when taken in the hand, to be scarcely palpable, were formed, by the action of the wind, into large waves, one side of which was nearly perpendicular, and, being red, had the appearance of a brick wall, while the other side went off by a gradual slope. A sort of hollow intervened, through which it behoved the traveller, if possible, to find his way. To cross the waves was most laborious, at least when the perpendicular side was to be ascended, an attempt in which they were repeatedly baffled, and obliged to go round for an easier turn. The camels mounted easily on the sloping side; and when they came to the brink, dropped on their knees, and slid down with the sand, the first making a breach, by which the rest easily followed.

This light sand, raised into the air, formed a species of atmosphere, which had the appearance of a gloomy vapour, and getting into the eyes, mouth, and nostrils, caused a violent irritation, and greatly augmented the torments of thirst. These were rendered more poignant, also, by the *sahrab* or *mirage*, which floated every-where around them, presenting the appearance of clear and still lakes, reflecting the hills and all surrounding objects as distinctly as water. It is imputed to the extreme rarefaction of the atmosphere, and the exhalation of saline particles. Some occasional relief was afforded by bursts of rain, which came on at a few moments' warning, with such fury, and in such large drops, that it would have been dangerous to be exposed to them, unless under shelter of the camels. They afforded a momentary refreshment; but this moisture was soon absorbed by the parched surface of the ground.

After labouring through this dreary and inhospitable tract, Mr Pottinger arrived on the frontier of Mekran. He found this province, like Beloochistan, covered with robbers, and of a meaner and more brutal class. He met in particular with a tribe called Loories, who abandon themselves, without bounds, to every species of depravity. Not only plunder in every shape, but murder in cold blood on the slightest resentment,

is considered by them as nothing. "They say "that man was born to live, to die, to rot, and "be forgotten;" and on this atheistical principle, think themselves justified in giving a loose to every irregular propensity. Such is the profligacy of their manners, that scarcely any children are reared in the society, and they depend for the continuance of the race almost entirely upon man-stealing. Mr Pottinger passed with all convenient speed through the territories of this race, hiding himself carefully in the jungles; and by paying considerable sums to the chiefs of some less desperate banditti, he procured an escort, which conveyed him in safety through these perilous tracks. On the 23d April he reached Regan, the frontier fortress of Persia, and proceeded by Hyderabad and Bumm to Kerman, where he found himself quite on safe and known ground.

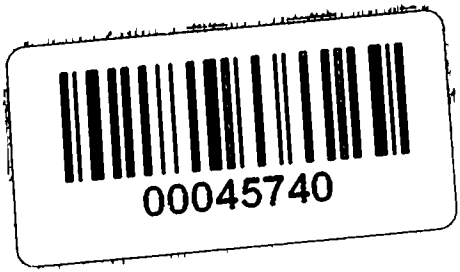
Messrs Pottinger and Christie have also communicated the result of their mission to Sinde, the Delta of the Indus, which, though not leading through such strange and perilous tracks, has made us acquainted with a country otherwise very little known. They landed at Kurachee or Corachie, inhabited by 13,000 Hindoos, and surrounded by fortifications of mud mixed with straw. They reached Tatta by five marches through a desert, intersected however by river beds now dry,

but said to be filled in the rainy season. Tatta was found stripped of all its greatness, two-thirds uninhabited; and instead of its containing, as in the time of Nadir, 40,000 weavers, the whole inhabitants of all classes were not supposed to exceed 20,000. This decay had been chiefly owing to the removal of the court to Hyderabad, which yet had ruined Tatta, without raising that place in proportion. Hyderabad was not supposed to contain more than 20,000 inhabitants, half of whom were in the fort, built on an island in the river, and the other half in the pettah or suburbs. Sinde was then governed by three Ameers, who were brothers, and maintained considerable pomp. A long discussion was held between them and our envoys respecting the ceremonial of introduction; and they did not, after all, vouchsafe a very courteous reception. These royal brothers maintain a force of 38,000 irregular cavalry, and extort from their subjects, by every kind of oppression, sixty-one lacks of rupees (L.767,000). The Sindeans are a handsome race, which appeared both in the men and dancing girls, who appear to have been equally numerous as in the days of Manrique. Their moral qualities are very unfavourably described; they are represented as a compound of treachery, cruelty, and licentiousness.

ROYAL ASIATIC

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